Life of CHARLES CARROLL of CARROLLTON

By Lewis A. Leonard

"When Democracy Dawned"

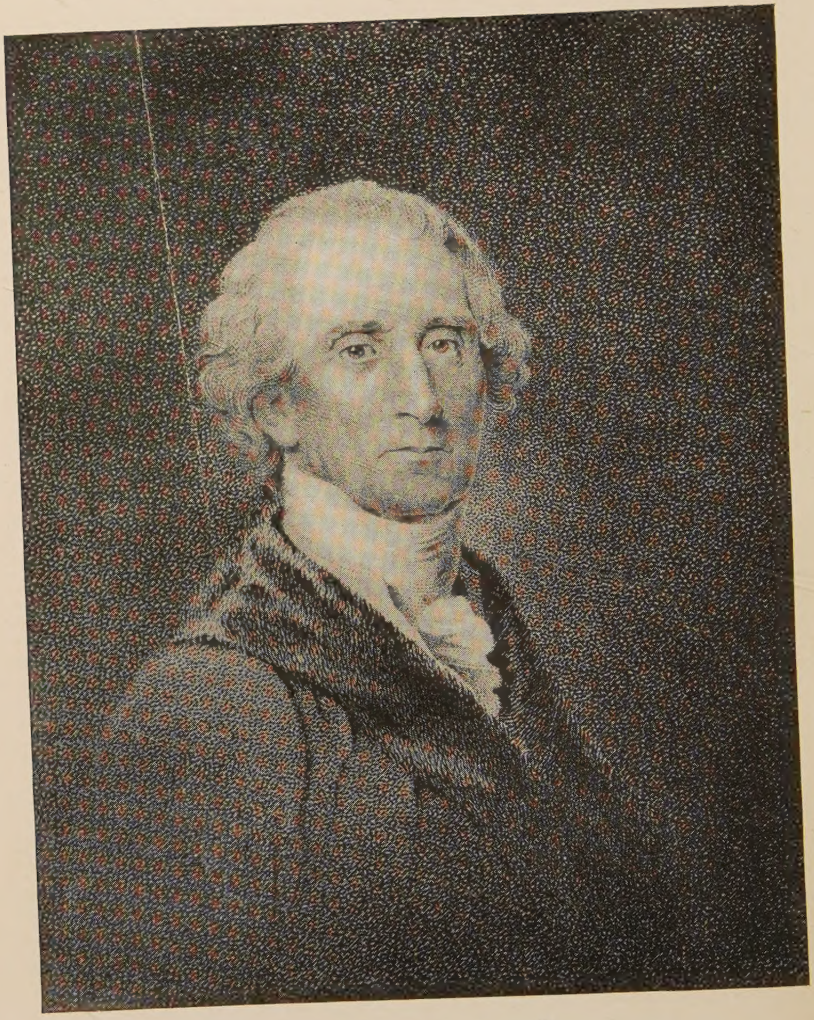
Aquinas Students'
Reference Library.
-1919

PROPERTY OF LIBRARY
TACOMA CATHOLIC COLLEGE

LIFE OF CHARLES CARROLL of CARROLLTON

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2025

https://archive.org/details/bwb_Y0-BSN-746



Charles Carroll of Carrollton

LIFE OF
CHARLES CARROLL *of* CARROLLTON

By

LEWIS A. LEONARD

of *The Times-Union*, Albany, N. Y., Editorial Staff

"Mr. Carroll was as good as he was great."
J. H. B. Latrobe

NEW YORK
MOFFAT, YARD AND COMPANY
1918

922
C 319L

Copyright, 1918
By LEWIS A. LEONARD

324

Press of
J. B. LYON
COMPANY
ALBANY
NEW YORK

TO THE MEMORY

of

A useful citizen, an able statesman and a loyal friend —

to the Memory of

HON. JOHN LEE CARROLL

Former Governor of Maryland

This Book is respectfully dedicated by one who knew his virtues,
appreciated his friendship and recognized his great ability

Loyola Library

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PAGES

Chapter 1. The Province of Maryland as the First Carroll Found It..... 25
2. The First Carroll in the Province of Maryland... 33
3. Downfall of the Proprietary Government of the Province 41
4. Charles Carroll of Annapolis in the Province..... 49
5. Student Life at Le Grand — Law and Love in London — An Interesting Letter..... 59
6. Young Charles Prepares for His Return to the Home of His Childhood..... 71
7. Returns to America and Becomes Charles Carroll of Carrollton 79
8. Charles Carroll of Carrollton in the Character of "First Citizen" 87
9. Rumblings of Colonial Discontent..... 97
10. Meeting and Work of the First Continental Congress 103
11. News from England — Trip of the Commissioners to Canada 113
12. Declaration of Independence — The New Constitution for Maryland..... 123
13. Signing the Declaration of Independence — And the Men who Signed It..... 131
14. Work on National and State Legislation — Death of Father and Wife..... 141
15. With Washington and His Army at Valley Forge — The Brewing of a Conspiracy..... 151
16. The Conway Cabal — Charles Carroll of Carrollton Foils the Conspiracy to Displace Washington 161
17. The Peace of Paris and Conditions Leading to the French Alliance..... 173
18. Further Details of and Alliance with France..... 179
19. Robert Morris with the Aid of Carroll and Others Saves the Financial Situation..... 189

PAGES

Chapter 20. The War Nearing an End — Mr. Carroll's Interest in "The Maryland Line" 197
21. Early Days of Peace — Mr. Carroll a United States Senator 203
22. Resigns as a United States Senator that He May Continue as a Maryland Senator 213
23. Attention to the Estate — Death of His Son 223
24. Organizing the B. & O. R. R. — Other Incidents and Activities in Public Life 229
25. Birth and Development of the United States Navy. 235
26. Louis Le Grand College Where the Spark of Liberty was Fanned into a Flame 241
27. Benevolence and Business — The Washington Letter 251
28. Carrolls of the Past and of To-day 259
29. Declaration of Independence as Jefferson Drew It and as It was Passed 265

Appendix 277

ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE
Charles Carroll of Carrollton	*Frontispiece*
The Carroll Arms	24
Doughoregan Manor, Home of the Carrolls	32
Entrance to the Manor	64
Interior of the Manor Home	64
The Chapel at Doughoregan Manor	96
St. Charles College Founded by Charles Carroll of Carrollton	128
Hon. John Lee Carroll, Governor of Maryland in 1876	160
The Letter of Gen. Washington to the Catholics of America	256
Fac-Simile Copy of the Declaration of Independence	264

SOURCES

The unpublished letters of Charles Carroll of Carrollton.

Archives of the State of Maryland, printed by authority of the Legislature of the State under the direction of the Maryland Historical Society.

The Calvert papers.

Maryland records, Colonial and Revolutionary, County and Church, copied by Dr. Gains Marcus Brumbaugh.

Ridgley's annals of Annapolis.

Letters, papers and personal interviews with Mr. J. H. B. Latrobe, private secretary to Charles Carroll of Carrollton.

History of Maryland, the Colonial period by John Leeds Bozman.

County histories and other local histories of Maryland, and other States.

Life and letters of Charles Carroll of Carrollton by Miss Kate Mason Rowland.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The thanks of the author for valuable suggestions, information and assistance in research work and in other ways are due and hereby tendered to

Former Governor Martin H. Glynn of New York.
Mr. William G. Roberts of Cincinnati, O.
Former Governor Edwin Warfield of Maryland.
Mr. Gamble Latrobe of Baltimore, Md.
Miss Virginia Scott MacTavish of Rome, Italy.
Mrs. Herbert D. Robbins of New York.
Mr. John E. Semmes of Baltimore, Md.
Miss Jennie M. Davis of New York.
Mr. Charles Bancroft Carroll of Doughoregan and now an officer of the U. S. navy.
Miss Lizzie Commerford of Middlefield, Conn.
Mr. Frank L. Tolman of Albany, N. Y.
Mr. George G. Champlin of Albany, N. Y.
Miss Jessie F. Wheeler of Troy, N. Y.
Mr. Harry G. Michener, President of The Bank of North America, Philadelphia, Pa.

PREFACE

TO THE

LIFE OF CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON

BY FORMER

GOVERNOR MARTIN H. GLYNN

OF NEW YORK

This, in my opinion, is a book which should be in the library of every lover of American history.

Charles Carroll played a big part in the drama of American Independence, a far bigger part than is popularly supposed. School histories dismiss him with a few lines and most histories give larger space to men who played far minor parts. For this reason historical justice has never been fully accorded to Charles Carroll. This book corrects that injustice. Its author, a Marylander by birth, with the zeal and enthusiasm of a native son for his own heath, its traditions and its men of note, has given years to the research needed to unearth such a mine of historical knowledge. And with him it has been a labor of love. His forbears were intimately connected with the Carrolls and so Mr. Leonard has more than musty old records for the source of his inspiration. I believe that he has done simple justice to the name and fame of Charles Carroll and nothing more. The great pity is, it was not done years ago.

George Washington had no truer, no stauncher friend than Charles Carroll, though the world has partially blinked the fact. Others of the Colonial fathers might waver here, and falter there, but Charles Carroll always upheld the hands of Washington as Aaron and Hur upheld the hands of Moses in his battle with Amalek. In this country Charles Carroll

saw the Promised Land for which sages had sighed and philosophers had dreamed and for it he risked his all on the turn of the Revolutionary die, and his all was more in worldly goods than any other signer of the Declaration of Independence.

Charles Carroll was a democrat by nature as well as by name. His opinions prove it, his acts prove it. Educated in the atmosphere of France wherefrom came the great champions of Modern Democracy, Charles Carroll fought in America for what he learned in France. Lafayette, DeGrasse, Vergennes, and DeVal were all educated as Carroll was educated and as they thought on Democracy, so thought Charles Carroll.

The world will never know how much the United States owes to Charles Carroll for the help we received in France in the Revolutionary War. Benjamin Franklin and Charles Carroll were always the closest friends and he who thinks as he reads can easily discern that the men who helped Franklin most in France were the men responsive to the old associations of the Carrolls in France.

Of Charles Carroll it can be said that his history is the history of the Maryland of his day and from Maryland his influence radiated far and wide throughout the land.

In the old method of general historical writing where one man attempted the impossible task of writing history in its entirety, the work and worth of men like Charles Carroll did not loom up in their proper prospective. In such impressionistic history they were dwarfed by the splendor of those performing more spectacular parts. But under the monograph system sponsored by Lord Acton of Cambridge University, such historical injustice is fast passing away. This book is such a monograph. It is a valuable contribution

to American history. It does justice to a man to whom Americans owe an ineffable debt of gratitude.

I have watched this book grow since pencil first touched its paper; and, if others get as much pleasure from its perusal as I have from its companionship, they will have in it a happy acquisition.

MARTIN H. GLYNN.

Aquinas Library

INTRODUCTION

CHARLES CARROLL of Carrollton easily ranked next to Washington in the value of the services rendered the patriot cause in our Revolutionary struggle.

He devoted more of his time and more of his money to the cause of the people than any other patriot.

He spent more time with Washington at army headquarters than any other civilian, and was more closely identified with the purposes, impulses and activities of the great commander than any other man in or out of the army.

He served the people in more different positions of responsibility and usefulness than did any other man, and never failed in a single instance, to measure up to the highest standard of statesmanship and patriotism.

During the critical year of 1776 he was a member of Congress, a member of the Maryland Assembly, Member of the Convention to draw a new constitution for the state, member of three different provincial committees, member of the War Board charged with the conduct of the war, and a commissioner from the United States to Canada. And in every position he was either the most active, or one of the most active in the work. In addition to these duties that year, he was the most successful man in his county in collecting coin to be sent to the soldiers in Canada, and was superintending the erection of saltpeter works for producing gun powder. It is not

necessary to add that he gave every moment of his time to the public.

He was the richest man that signed The Declaration of Independence, the *first* man that signed, the most useful man that signed, the only Roman Catholic that signed, and the last man to die of those who signed it.

These are a few of the many reasons that have convinced me that full justice has never been done to the memory of the noblest citizen of my native state.

The work of preparing this book is in pursuance of a long cherished purpose. The Carroll history and traditions have been familiar to me from the time of my early youth. My grandfather and his father were closely associated for a great many years with Charles Carroll of Carrollton in an important business enterprise; and my father knew the famous signer as well as a boy of thirteen would be likely to know an elderly man. It was in this way that my knowledge of, and interest in the Carroll family commenced as soon as I was old enough to give thought to such affairs. The feeling that I ought put in shape the facts at my command grew as I saw others better qualified for the work pass away.

During the winter of 1865–66 I was a law student in the office of I. C. W. Powell, an eminent lawyer of Easton, Md. The firm of Johnson & Kerr of Baltimore attended to Court of Appeals business for Mr. Powell, and I was a great deal in their office. Mr. Reverdy Johnson was a United States Senator from Maryland, and his son-in-law, Mr. Charles Kerr, a native of our county, was a close friend of Mr. Powell and of Mr. J. H. B. Latrobe. In this way I made the acquaintance of Mr. Latrobe. He had office room with Johnson & Kerr, and was busy at the time revising his law book, "Justice Practice in Maryland" and I helped him whenever I could in this work.

Mr. Latrobe was for many years private secretary to Charles Carroll of Carrollton, and wrote the life of Mr. Carroll for Sanderson's Lives of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence. This work as prepared by him made 85 pages of manuscript and would have been about 85 pages in Sanderson's book. But after Mr. Carroll had cut out all he thought ought to be cut out, and Sanderson had cut out all he thought ought to be cut out, but 21 pages were left. This presented but a meagre and inadequate telling of a great story. Mr. Latrobe explained that Mr. Carroll was living at the time and added, "You know, no man's biography can be written properly during his life time." Mr. Latrobe read me the original manuscript two or three times and commented on various phases of it. He also had very full notes of Mr. Carroll's work in connection with our relation with France. It was his intention to write a volume on the French Alliance, and with that purpose in view he had secured valuable papers original and copies from France. My interest in the matter by reason of the association of my family with the Carrolls made Mr. Latrobe the more ready to talk to me on the subject. At that time Mr. Latrobe appeared to me to be the ablest, best posted and most versatile man I had ever met. Literally, he seemed to know everything on every subject, and to be able to tell it in a most entertaining manner. Each time I met him, he had a new fund of entertaining information. It is not too much to say that no man in my entire life ever impressed me as did Mr. J. H. B. Latrobe. Sometimes I have thought it might be merely my boyish admiration for an older man who seemed to take me so fully into his confidence; yet when I recall the things he said, the subjects he discussed, the information he imparted; I am still impressed with

the belief in his great ability. It was from this man who was so close to Charles Carroll of Carrollton for so many years, and who loved him so well, that I drew the inspiration that impelled the writing of this book. One day in speaking of the venerable signer, I asked how he ranked as compared with Senator Johnson. He did not directly answer the question, but said after a pause, " I know of no man of the present generation who could anywhere near rank with him in the essentials of real greatness. He had unusual opportunities and he made the most of them. I think of Mr. Carroll as Burke said of Pitt, ' You couldn't go under a shed with him out of the rain, without feeling that you were in the presence of greatness.' " Then he reverently added, " and what is more Mr. Carroll was as good as he was great." It was mainly to give an idea of the value of this opinion that I told so fully what manner of man Mr. Latrobe actually was. When I next saw him after that winter, some years had elapsed. His son, Gen. Ferdinand C. Latrobe, was Mayor of Baltimore for the second, third or fourth time, but his father seemed as vigorous, entertaining and lovable as ever. I expressed the hope that if he did not write the things he had in mind, he would leave his papers so that his son could do so; but he replied, " Ferdinand is too busy with the present and future to care much about the past." However the papers have fallen into competent and loving hands; and besides the use that has already been made of them the country is to have a life of that most able, estimable and lovable of men, J. H. B. Latrobe. That he wrote history, invented a stove, experimented with electricity and chemistry, and was one of the best lawyers of the state, being for years attorney for the B. & O. Railroad, is pretty good evidence of his ability and versa-

tility. His father was a man of great worth and experience and the son had fully lived up to the opportunities that had been afforded him.

Reading the voluminous correspondence of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, one is impressed with the great industry, ability and usefulness of the man, but is still more struck with the vein of genuine piety that runs through his busy career. He never forgot his religion, never faltered in his abiding faith in God. As I read, I caught myself repeating Mr. Latrobe's remark of years ago, "He was as good as he was great."

Mr. Carroll's life has never been written. The twenty-one pages in "Sanderson's Lives" tell but little, and told that before his career was ended. The valuable work of Miss Kate Mason Rowland is devoted mainly to making a record of the Carroll letters and documents and in that way represents great labor: and is a work that will be used by scholars in all times. It was in no sense intended as a commercial enterprise, but was issued in a small edition at the expense of the family for their own satisfaction; as well as for the use of future historians. These, with some short sketches mainly in state histories and religious books, comprise all that has been told of a man who certainly deserves to rank as one of the very greatest of his own or any other age.

In telling the life story of one whose time was so fully given to the public, it is necessary to recount much of the history of the days in which he lived. Any one doing this kind of work will be struck by the many discrepancies encountered in what he had been led to consider reliable authorities. Where such differences are found, it is necessary to go back to original sources of information when this can be

done; and where this is not possible, one must be guided by the weight of authority taken in connection with all the surrounding circumstances. This I have endeavored to do. I realize too, the danger of writing history not found in the school books; being fully aware that the most confident critics are those whose knowledge of history is derived from the books they read at school. A historian once said, "After one has spent weeks trying to settle a point to his satisfaction, he is likely to meet a man at dinner who can tell him all about it in five minutes with one hand tied behind him."

Studying Mr. Carroll carefully and weighing his letters, documents and the records of his whole life as seen by his co-temporaries one is likely to think of him much as Mr. Latrobe did. Endowed with a fine mind he had every advantage which good health, great industry and unlimited means could give. When he returned to Maryland in his twenty-sixth year to take his place in the Province, he not only knew books; but he had studied men and conditions in the principal countries of Europe, and he was a well educated man in a much broader sense than is implied by that term today. The position of leadership which he won as " First Citizen " on entering public life, he held to the end of his career.

In personal appearance Mr. Carroll was a small man, with bright blue eyes, and clean cut rather sharp features. It was noted that one of Maryland's signers was the smallest man physically of the group, and another the largest. Mr. Carroll weighed about 125 pounds and Chase standing six feet two weighed over 250; and the two were the closest and most inseparable of friends.

Though associated so closely and so prominently with colonial and revolutionary days Mr. Carroll's

long life brought him closer to the present generation than one would think. He had not been dead thirty years when the civil war began. Many of the old people of my younger days, had met him and some like Mr. Latrobe, Judge Chambers, General Tench Tilghman, Governor Thomas and Governor Sam Stevens knew him well.

LEWIS A. LEONARD.

ALBANY, N. Y., *December* 1, 1917.

THE MARYLAND CARROLLS

During the revolutionary period of the province of Maryland there were six members of the Carroll family in active political work on the side of the patriots.

They were Charles Carroll of Annapolis, and his son Charles Carroll of Carrollton; Daniel Carroll, who was a member of the Maryland assembly, president of the Senate, member of Congress and one of the makers and signers of the federal constitution; Rev. John Carroll one of the United States Commissioners to Canada and the first Bishop and first archbishop in this Country. He was the brother of Daniel and cousin of Charles Carroll of Carrollton. Then there was Charles Carroll, Barrister who was a member of Congress, of the State Senate and of various Colonial and State Committees. The sixth Carroll, was Henry James Carroll who married Elizabeth Barnes of Kingston Hall, Somerset county. He was the son of Henry Carroll of Susquehanna Manor in St. Mary's but moved to the Eastern shore just before the breaking out of the revolution and was an active patriot in that part of the State. His grandson Thomas King Carroll, was governor of Maryland in 1830–1831.

Carroll.

CARROLL ARMS.

LIFE OF CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON

CHAPTER I

THE PROVINCE OF MARYLAND AS THE FIRST CARROLL FOUND IT

The government which Lord Baltimore gave to the Colony of Maryland was not only the most liberal and the fairest that the world had known up to that time, but it was peculiar and novel as well as most fascinating. It was the fascination of this government as well as its liberality that caused settlers from all directions to flock to the province.

George Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore, was no novice in either statecraft or the work of planting a colony. He had the advantage of experience in both lines of work before the Maryland undertaking was considered.

Although his conversion to the Catholic faith had caused the forfeiture of his official positions, it in no way seemed to lessen the regard and confidence that his Sovereign had in him. It was, therefore, mainly by reason of his high standing, lofty character and great ability that he was enabled to secure a concession or charter for the territory, which became the Province of Maryland; of a nature different from any concession that had ever been made. He became the absolute owner of the territory. All titles had to come from him. He arranged the plan of government and was the source of all power, and the maker of all laws. No one, not even the King had to be consulted in the management of the Province and its people.

Although George Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore, died before any of his plans could be put into operation, the whole scheme was the result of his experience and deep thought.

Previous to the Maryland charter, Lord Baltimore had established a settlement in Newfoundland. First, this was merely an estate, then a settlement and finally a colony. This effort was a kind of experimental school. He called the settlement Avalon and its capital city was Annapolis; the first Annapolis. Though the climate was hard, and the soil rough and unproductive, the colony flourished, till news of the beautiful location, rich soil, and mild climate of the Maryland concession caused dissatisfaction and made many of the colonists want to move south. They were humored in this desire and nearly two hundred of them were brought down the coast under command of Nathaniel Leonard, cousin of Lord Baltimore, who had succeeded John Wyatt as Governor of Avalon. These reached Maryland two months after the *Ark* and the *Dove* had brought Lord Baltimore's first settlers to the Chesapeake, and there formed the first considerable accession to the new colony. But Avalon survived the loss of so many of its people and was made a division of Maryland to which it paid fealty of a bushel of grain and twelve arrow heads each year as long as the proprietary government existed, or till about the time just previous to our Revolutionary War.

The death of George Calvert left the colony as an inheritance to his son, Cecelius Calvert, who appointed his brother, Leonard Calvert, Governor of the Province and manager of his affairs. The first Lord Baltimore had matured his plans so carefully, and had so fully arranged all the details of government and management, that it was only necessary to consult

instructions and be prepared to meet new conditions as they arose. And the new conditions did arise thick and fast. The colony was assailed from without and within by enemies in London and neighbors in Virginia. But a detail of these is not necessary for the purposes of this effort. In spite of all these obstacles the colony grew and developed and the laws, customs and manner of living were carried out, much as outlined by the original Proprietor. The Province was divided into counties and the counties into hundreds. Grants of land were made to gentlemen and the size of the grant depended on the number of followers, attendants or subtenants which the gentleman could command.

There was no idea of democracy as we understand it; yet the charter provided that the Governor should consult the people in the making of laws. The manner of this consultation was left entirely to the Lord Proprietor or the Governor appointed by him.

But the Governor seems to have been fair and liberal in all things and no conflict between him and the Assembly occurred. The Assembly was elected by the gentlemen who were the large land owners and known as Lords of the Manor. Each manor was a tract of many thousands of acres, not less than 2,000; either cultivated by the Lord of the Manor or let to subtenants. The Manor House was the head of the settlement and the owner as Lord of the Manor, was a kind of magistrate. He held Manor Court for the settlement of disputes between the Lord of the Manor and his tenants or followers and Leet court for the adjustment of matters between these tenants.

The Manor House was the social centre; and the Lords and Ladies of the Manor engaged in such sports and social accomplishments as they learned in England

and Ireland or had been developed as a result of conditions in the new world. These social doings took such a hold, that after other features of colonial life had been supplanted, the people held fast to many of them. The house party at the Manor, the hunt, the regatta, the riding tournament claimed places in the social life of Maryland till after the Civil War.

And these Manor Lords had each his coat of arms and the province boasted of its own flag, as artistic and pretty a banner as any people ever unfolded to the breeze.

The introduction of slavery which warped the plans of Manor life in many respects did not materially lessen the social features. Lord Baltimore did not contemplate an ideal republic nor conceive of a democracy; but his ambition was to found an aristocratic state where the people would be prosperous and happy, and where all would enjoy the full measure of that liberty for which each was fitted. It is believed by many that he contemplated conferring patents of nobility. His laws provided that the Lord of the Manor should be addressed as Esquire and other landowners as Mister.

But above all he made it clear that the fullest measure of religious liberty should be enjoyed. His motto was "toleration for all religion that accepts the divinity of Jesus Christ; but the establishment of none."

His laws also provided that no church or religious body should become the holder of a large tract of land nor should any minister, priest or preacher be eligible as a member of the Assembly. These principles took such a hold on the people of the colony that they were grafted on the laws of Maryland after the Revolution, and their influence is seen on the statute books to the present day.

While Massachusetts and the other Puritan colonies were persecuting Quakers, selling them into slavery in Jamaica because of their religious belief, and persuasively using a hot iron on the tip of the tongue to convince them of the error of their beliefs; and while Boston was going so far as to tie a clergyman to the tail of a cart and whip him through the streets as an argument against immersion as a religious rite, and the Colony of Virginia was expelling the Puritans; the Province of Maryland, through its Assembly and at the instance of the Lord Proprietor was proclaiming religious liberty; the motto from the first, being "toleration for all religions and the establishment of none."

While these principles had prevailed from the first, on April 21, 1649, the Assembly at the instance of the Proprietor passed the following law to make the matter entirely clear:

> No person professing to believe in Jesus Christ shall from henceforth be any ways troubled, molested or discountenanced for, or in respect of his or her religion; nor in the free exercise thereof within this Province nor in any way be compelled to the belief or exercise of any other religion against his or her consent.

The act further provided that "if any person shall willfully wrong another person because of his religion, he shall be compelled to pay treble damages to the person so wronged. And if the wrong doer shall refuse or be unable to pay damages, he shall be publicly whipped and imprisoned."

The enunciation of these principles brought to the Province people of all shades of religious views and it isn't to the credit of the new comers that as soon as

they found themselves in the majority and had temporarily wrested the government from the hands of the Lord Proprietor they made laws disfranchising and oppressing the Catholics. The ups and downs of these struggles make a story too tedious to be told in this connection, but no part of it reflects discredit on any of the early descendants or followers of the Lord Proprietor. Loyal and intelligent Marylanders of to-day and of all opinions regardless of religion, are proud of the records of the early Calvert family made in carrying out the views and wishes of the first Lord Baltimore.

Maryland was in no sense a penal colony. The people were required to be citizens of respectability from the first. No gentleman was permitted to bring as tenant, retainer, or follower any one who had been convicted or seriously charged with crime.

The Province grew in wealth and importance and its social features became known as distinctive and unique even in that day. There were twelve counties; each a little province of itself and as the Lords of the Manor gave attention to agriculture, education and social affairs, the attendants and tenants labored, builded, planted and reaped; developing the new country much after the manner outlined in the dreams of the first Lord of the Province and aiming at his ideals. Just as you trace the Puritan strain in New England, the Huguenot in New York, the Quaker element in Pennsylvania, the Cavalier tone in Virginia and the Carolinas, so you find the ideals and traditions of the Irish predominating in old Maryland. And these traditions were of the most lofty that human nature, as then developed, was capable of enjoying. These conditions produced such a state of government and secured to all such liberty and happiness as seemed well suited to that day and that stage of civilization.

There was not in the mind of any, an ideal of democracy as developed later. The condition was pleasing, aristocratic and satisfying; and was well in advance of anything that civilization had so far produced. It seemed at that day a satisfactory and progressive state of society. Slavery had not yet thrown its shadow on the country; but, when it came later to Maryland as it came to the other colonies, it warped the conditions and greatly changed the trend of events. But at this time, it had not yet appeared and the settlers were happy in their own ways. Of the people themselves who made up this settlement one of Maryland's historians says in reply to certain criticisms of their narrowness, " in the sincerity of their friendships, in the depth of their religious conviction, in the strength of their domestic affections and in general reverence for things sacred, our forefathers far outshine the men of this generation with all its pomp and pride of civilization."

It was to such a people and under such social, political and religious conditions that the first Charles Carroll came from Kings County, Ireland, in 1688, with the hope of peacefully enjoying his religion, his liberty and his wealth.

Doughoregan Manor, home of the Carrolls

CHAPTER II

THE FIRST CHARLES CARROLL IN THE PROVINCE OF MARYLAND

Charles Carroll, the son of Daniel, after his admission to the Bar, settled in London and soon became the secretary of Lord Powis who had become an earnest friend of Lord Baltimore and deeply interested in the Maryland project. Charles Carroll, the young lawyer of the Inner Temple and secretary to Lord Powis, had not yet come into his estates. His father still lived and occupied the family heritage in Litterlouna in Kings County, Ireland, and to this home Charles doubtless went frequently to discuss his future with his father and the other members of the family. It was a fine estate overlooking the valley where the beautiful Shannon flows, and not " a long way from Tipperary " for that county of cherry songs and beautiful traditions was just across the river, and the O'Carrolls of old had spread all over the region. The home where Daniel Carroll resided and where the first Charles of our line was born is still standing, or was not many years ago. It passed into the hands of a family named Parsons and about 1820 Mr. Parsons had the old mansion rebuilt and the estates put in the best of order in all respects.

During the year 1826 the granddaughter of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, who had married the Duke of Wellesley, lately made the Viceroy of Ireland, visited the place and was entertained in the old home. It was on the occasion of this visit that the Bishop of London in a speech of welcome, said " to the land from which your ancestors fled as exiles, you return to reign a Queen."

But things in Kings County were made very unpleasant for the Carrolls in 1687 on account of the persecution of Catholics at that time; and the secretary to Lord Powis began to make plans for coming to the Province. In these ideas he was encouraged by Lord Baltimore who had become impressed with the ability and versatility of the young man; as well by Lord Powis who saw for him a future in Maryland which under all the circumstances he could not hope for in London or in Ireland. He was doubtless encouraged in this by his father who began disposing of some properties with the idea of being able to see his son well settled in the new world. Charles was a younger son and, of course, the bulk of the estate would go to the older brother.

Having resigned his position with Lord Powis, and with a commission in hand as an officer of the new government of Maryland, he arrived in the Province October 1, 1688. He began work as agent of the Lord Proprietor, but before a year had elapsed, one of those revolutions came which upset the power of the Lord Proprietor and placed the government more directly under the control of the Crown. But he had already demonstrated his ability and usefulness and while he continued his work nominally as merely the agent and rent collector for Lord Baltimore, he served the interest of the Lord Proprietor by keeping in close touch and in most respects working harmoniously with the people who had come into power as his enemies.

Incidentally he was once or twice arrested for "ridiculing the home government" though he does not seem to have taken the matter at all seriously at first. But as they wouldn't accept bail, he finally got much provoked at his fix.

Though the Lord Proprietor had technically lost the

Province, he had not lost his property nor his influence; and he continued to control much of the doings of the Assembly. He was always diplomatic and frequently had his own way by seeming to let the Council and Assembly have theirs.

At first and for a good while, Lord Baltimore was able to keep clear of the political strife of England. and though residing nearly all the time in London he was able to steer the colonists clear of the trouble that surrounded him there. He appointed a Protestant Governor when that was practicable and in all things displayed the traits of a diplomatic manager.

The Puritan element grew in strength and power as the colony increased in numbers. First there came the Puritans of Virginia who had been expelled from that colony on account of their religion, and these were joined by many of their own faith from New England, so that by the year 1680, it was found that the Protestants outnumbered the Catholics about thirty to one. One of the most incomprehensible traits of human nature is that people who have suffered religious persecution promptly become persecutors as soon as they get the upper hand. So it proved in Maryland.

Mr. Sharf in his excellent and unprejudiced history of the colony and state says:

> Assuredly the founders of Maryland were in advance of their times, and soared far above the spirit which animated the government of the mother country and the sister colonies.
>
> It was a bigoted and persecuting age and Catholics and Protestants alike were guilty of intolerance and persecution. But let honor be given where it is due; and the honor of passing the act concerning religion "belongs to an assembly, the majority of whom were Roman Catholics."

That act provided for the fullest protection to all in the enjoyment of religious liberty and secured all rights alike to Catholic and Protestant.

McMahon also an unquestioned authority, says:

> So far as religion was concerned the course of the laws and their administration was one of entire neutrality. The great object seems to have been to preserve that religious freedom, which had been identified with the colony. The Proprietor is nowhere charged by the Assembly with any act or intention, aiming either at the establishment of his own Church or the injury of the Protestant. His principles were averse to everything like persecution.

An Englishman traveling in the Province at that time in describing the committee of plantations, says, "though there are thirty Protestants to one Papist, between them there is no quarrel."

Yet notwithstanding the condition of tolerance and good feeling that had prevailed it was easy for an unprincipled man named Code to stir up what was known as the Protestant Rebellion. In fact, it could hardly be so called with fairness, because it was really a scheme to get the Church of England made the official institution of the Province and the Puritan element which had suffered persecution readily joined in, and became the persecutors.

Under the proprietary government from its inception to its overthrow Maryland was a place of refuge to all who sought shelter from civil or religious oppression. The Catholic here found peace and security and the non-conformist Protestant came hither, to enjoy under a Catholic ruler the toleration denied him by his Protestant brethren. Says a writer of Maryland history:

> It has become the fashion of New England and northern writers to sneer at the history of toleration in Maryland, to dispute the facts attending its establishment and to deny that it was a voluntary proceeding upon the part of the Lords Proprietor and their subjects, the colonists of Maryland. But they cannot deny the practical workings of toleration as exemplified in the population of the colony which very early became a harbor of refuge for the oppressed of all lands and of every creed. The New England Puritan sat down here by the side of the Catholic, Cavalier and planter; the Quaker escaped to Maryland soil where he could feel secure from the lash and the pillory, the cart's tail and the ear cropper.

But in spite of the condition that had prevailed, and in spite of the feeling of security that all had enjoyed, it wasn't hard to stir up a spirit of rebellion against the Lord Proprietor and the Catholics.

These were days of persecution and intolerance and the doings of people of that era must not be judged by the conditions and standards of the present.

One Code, an unprincipled man, was the chief inciter and leader of the rebellion. He had been both Catholic and Protestant and had been discarded by each in turn. Now he raised the cry of " no popery " and the people who had been the beneficiaries of the beneficent rule of the Lord Proprietor and his Assembly rallied to Code and soon had possession of the government. The story of their doings is well told in the letter here given. This letter is interesting both because of what it says and because it is the first record we have made by a member of the Carroll family:

> St. Mary, September the 25th, 1689.
>
> My most hon'd Lord:
>
> I believe your Lordship has ere now had some intelligence either by Captain Burneham or John-

son, of the strange rebellion your ungratefull people of this your Lordship's Province have involved themselves in, moved by the wicked instigations of Code, Jowles, Blackston, Chiseldon, Parson Thurling, and several others to that degree, that they quite unhinged your Lordship's Government; and (as if there were noe Justice to be had but such as they please to distribute, or as if the whole body of the lawes were to be annulled by their wild fancyes,) have taken upon themselves to declare your Lordship's charter forfeited, as your Lordship may see by their malitious declarcion, (which the bearer will shew your Lordship,) they have further taken upon themselves to give commissions to Sheriffs and Justices of their own stamp, and constitute other officers, both civill and military, utterly excluding not onely all Roman Catholiques from bearing any office whatsoever contray to any express act of assembly, but allsoe all protestants that refuse to joyne with them in their irregularities, imprisoning such of them as declare against their illegall proceedings, and arbitrarily threatening to hang anyman that takes upon him to justifie your Lordship's right; they have assumed the power of calling an assembly, the Election of which was in most Countyes awed by their souldiers, one Countye disowned their power, and would chuse noe members, but in fine they have packed up an assembly after the most irregular manner that ever was knowne wherein they have layd downe the methods of their future conduct, but is as yet kept private, but am informed that your Lordship shall speedily have sent you a copy of their journall.

But now it is that neither Catholique nor honest protestant can well call his life or Estate his owne, and if your Lordship, according to your wonted care and tenderness of your people, by a speedy application and true representation to his Majesty of these most inhuman actions doe not procure

some orders whereby to allay their fury a little, all your friends here will be reduced to a miserable condition, for dayly their Cattle are killed, their horses prest, and all the injury imaginable done to them, and to noe other. Certainly your Lordship's Charter is not such a trifle as to be annulled by the bare allegations of such profligate wretches and men of scandalous lives, as Code, Thurling, Jowles and such fooles, as they have poysoned by the most absurd lyes that ever were invented. If the King thinks that your Lordship or your Deputy Governors have done any thing that may render your Charter forfeited, his Majesty and his Councill know the way of trying it is a quo warranto, which way of proceeding (as I understand) is not much favored by the King or parliament, much less I believe will they approve of such unheard of actions as were committed your Lordship, and Government by these evill sperritts without commission or order from any superior power, whereby they have not onely rebell'd against your Lordship, but allsoe committed high treason in takeing up armes as they have done without warrant from his Majesty or your Lordship. I fear I have been too tedious upon this ungrateful Subject, yet could enlarge much now; and would but that the bearer can informe your Lordship to the full much better than I can, he haveing been noe small Sharer in the general calamity, whereof likewise I had my parte mingled with a hard seasoning of which I am now, thank God, allmost recovered.

I believe an act of indemnity, with a few exceptions of the most notorious transgressors, would prove a great means to reduce the people to their obedience, tho' the heads of them are soe arrogant as to declare that in case the King should send orders not to their likeing, they would not obey them, and a deal of such stuff; the Coll. will informe your Lordship at large; therefore will at present conclude with my hearty prayers that your Lordship may meet with noe difficultye in com-

poseing these matters, as allsoe with a full assurance that I allwayes shall strive in the station I am in to reserve in some measure the name of, My Lord.

Your Lordship's most humble and most faithfull servant,

CHARLES CARROLL.

Addressed:— For the Right Honorable the Lord Baltimore, at his home in Bloomsbery Square in London.

CHAPTER III

DOWNFALL OF THE PROPRIETORY GOVERNMENT OF MARYLAND

The condition of things in the colony is pretty well described by Charles Carroll in the letter to Lord Baltimore, given in the previous chapter. But with the exception of a little friction now and then and the occasional outbursts natural to a high spirited young man, he got along well in spite of the changed condition brought about by the rebellion. Code who led the revolt was a worthless and unprincipled fellow; but the influence of the old world and the prejudices of those in the Province were enough to give him the support which his want of character and principle would have denied him under other conditions. The Assembly which Code was supposed to control denied him a seat because he had formerly been a minister. And today no priest or preacher is eligible to a seat in the Maryland legislature.

But Charles Carroll managed to become influential with the people in spite of their prejudices against his religion; and as the representative of the Lord Proprietor, whose property rights were all preserved, he made himself useful as well as busy.

His thoughts soon turned to other matters than politics and religion and he married Martha, the daughter of Anthony Underwood, a wealthy and influential citizen, and the Lord of Underwood's Choice, a fine estate not far from St. Mary's, which its master acquired some five years before the arrival of Mr. Carroll from Europe. Underwood's Choice was one of the great estates located in the vicinity of the capital of the Province before its removal to Annapolis, the new seat

of government. And though the political centre swung to the new capital the social centre long remained at the St. Mary's region.

One child was born of this union; but child and wife died within a little more than a year after the marriage.

Four years after the loss of his first wife, Charles Carroll married Mary, the daughter of Henry Darnall, of Portland Manor, near St. Mary's. His association with Col. Darnall had been close and confidential from the first. The young immigrant brought letters to Col. Darnall from the Lord Proprietor and his instructions were to work harmoniously with this influential citizen. When Charles Carroll presented his letters of introduction to the Lord of Portland Manor, the daughter could have been not more than eleven years old, as she was not quite sixteen at the time of her marriage. But the acquaintance was evidently close and cordial from the first. The mother of Mary Darnall was, when married to Col. Darnall, the widow of Major Thos. Brooke of Brookfield.

This marriage seems to have been a happy one and most successful in all respects. It united the families of the Lord Proprietor's two most influential friends and promoted the interest of these families as well as that of their patron in England. During twenty years following, ten children were born of whom three sons and two daughters grew to manhood and womanhood. Henry Carroll, born Jan. 26, 1697, was the eldest. He was educated at St. Omers, finished his studies in England and was entered as a barrister at Temple Inn, Sept. 16, 1718. He died at sea April 10, 1719, on his way back to Maryland. Charles Carroll, the second son, who became the heir, was born April 2, 1702. He was the father of Charles Carroll of Carrollton. Daniel Carroll, the youngest son, was born Oct. 30, 1707.

Charles Carroll became possessed of large landed estates in the most desirable localities of the Province. These lands were granted him by the Lord Proprietor and purchased from the Indians whenever occupied by them. The Lords Proprietor from the first to the fifth Lord Baltimore strongly impressed on all his people that the Indians must be treated with fairness and friendliness. Whenever lands were occupied by Indians, the purchase must be made from them and on terms which they deemed satisfactory after a full understanding of the matter. To Mr. Carroll's duties as attorney and collector for the Lord Proprietor, were added the further task of Surveyor General and Naval Officer. He had authority to appoint surveyors and to remove inefficient ones. This doubtless gave him great advantage in acquiring a knowledge of the location, quality and desirability of the lands open for settlement. He was also well supplied with funds for investment as his father retaining the landed estates in Ireland for the eldest son had sent Charles to the new world well equipped with ready cash and good credit. Besides this his revenue for work done for the Lords Proprietor and the Province must have netted him a very considerable income. This constantly invested in the fine lands of the Province, furnished the basis of the great Carroll fortune of the future. Charles Carroll, the settler, visited England in the year 1715. It isn't clearly shown, but the presumption is strong that he was called to Europe at this time by the death of his father in Ireland. No previous mention is made of the death of his father and some business matters which he transacted at that time indicate that he was aiding in settling up the affairs of his father's estate.

During his stay in London the Lord Proprietor died and Charles Carroll acted as the attorney in the management of Lady Baltimore's affairs both in London and in the Province.

There was little or no cessation of the warfare on Catholics in Maryland and a man like Charles Carroll had to use great diplomacy as well as firmness in dealing with the situation.

From 1704 to 1718 several ferocious anti-Catholic acts were passed. A reward of £100 was offered to any informer who " should apprehend and take " a priest and convict him of saying Mass, and the penalty of a priest convicted under this act was perpetual imprisonment.

Any Catholic found keeping a school or taking any child to educate was to spend the rest of his life in prison. No Catholic should be permitted to send his child abroad to be educated, nor should a Catholic be allowed to purchase real estate; and those holding any property, were to pay double taxes.

But in nearly all these acts, Mr. Carroll was exempted from their penalties on account of the high regard the authorities had for him.

These things, however, were in no way denied or excused by Protestants of a later generation. They were simply a part of the times and of conditions which it is impossible to understand at this day.

It was not really a Protestant rebellion that carried down the Lord Proprietor. It was a Church of England movement which was part of the politics of that day. They made the Church of England the established church, which was the main object of the fight. Mr. Hawkes, a Protestant minister, writing of it says: " No wonder such a religious establishment as that of Maryland was odious to so many people. Their dislike of it is evidence of their virtue " and another Church of England clergyman writes: " The church which drove Catholicism to the wall was perhaps as contemptible an ecclesiastic body as history can show."

It was politics rather than religion and pretty low

down politics at that, when measured by the standards of the present day.

The two sons, Charles and Daniel, were sent to France to be educated when they were old enough to go. They were still at school when Henry, the eldest brother, died on his way home. The news of this death was given them in a letter from their father dated July 7, 1719. Previous to the death of his son Henry, Mr. Carroll had made his will leaving the three boys as executors and placing the management of his estates in the hands of Henry Darnall, Benjamin James Carroll, Charles Carroll and Daniel Carroll. The first one was his brother-in-law and the other three were his cousins. The accession of Benedict Leonard Calvert in 1715 to the titles of his father, placed the government back in the hands of the Lord Proprietor as Benedict had become a Protestant and could take the test oath necessary for the reinstatement of the old government.

The first Carroll to come over is generally spoken of as Charles Carroll, the immigrant, his son as Charles Carroll of Annapolis and the signer as Charles Carroll of Carrollton; And they will be so designated hereafter in this work. Mr. Carroll the immigrant was kept actively engaged in his practice after his return from England and during the proprietorship of Benedict, the successor of Charles. We find him appearing for the Province in criminal cases; and he was one of a committee of six to inspect the Provincial records and oversee their transfer to Annapolis when the capital was moved from St. Mary's to the new seat of government. He was painstaking and thorough, for we find in many cases he would not give an opinion offhand to the Assembly, whereas others were quite ready to do so. It seemed to be the custom for the

Assembly to call before them a group of leading lawyers for advice when a perplexing question arose. Mr. Carroll was always called in such cases, and was the most deliberate and painstaking of the group. Governor Nicholson seems to have been guided by the advice and opinion of Mr. Carroll in most of his acts where a question of law was involved.

Mr. Charles Carroll was kept busy in his law practice as well as with his private affairs now grown large by reason of his extensive real estate holdings. In 1698 he represented the counties of Talbot and Somerset before the Council in the matter of some complaints against the authorities of these counties. In Talbot, then spelled " Talbott " the charge was that the court house cost a considerable sum of tobb (tobacco) and the keeping of an ordinary in it cannot be allowed. The respondents through Mr. Carroll said the county was at much expense and needed the rental. The Council feared carousing in an ordinary would endanger the records. An arrangement satisfactory all around was made. Mr. Carroll agreed that the county would put up a small building at a distance from the court house and that this building should hold the records and have no chimney. Somerset was also able to satisfy the council.

When the government was settled in Annapolis, Mr. Carroll asked the appointment of Henry Denton as Naval Officer of the port and on the appointment being made went on his bond for the faithful performance of the duties of the post. Following this we find him frequently acting as counsel in the important shipping cases. By this time Mr. Carroll had secured real estate as follows:

Carroll's Forest 500 acres in Prince George's County.
Ely O'Carroll 1,000 acres in Baltimore County.
Litterlouna, 400 acres in Baltimore County.

New Year's gift 1,300 acres at Elk Ridge.
Clynmalyna, 3,000 acres.
Doughoregan Manor, 10,000 acres in Baltimore, now Howard County.

He also owned lands on the eastern shore in Kent and Somerset Counties and on the eastern shore of Virginia.

Enfield Chase in Prince George's County and other additions to his properties brought the estate of Charles Carroll, the immigrant, up to the princely holding of 60,000 acres. And these were in the hands of a man with the money, the experience and the brains to make the most of them. In the number of acres this corresponds fairly well with the holdings of Charles Carroll of Carrollton sixty years afterward. But the properties were not altogether the same.

Charles Carroll, the immigrant, was not slow to see that the change of the capital from St. Mary's to Anne Arundel County would cause a development in that section which would add greatly to land values. He was also quick to recognize the natural advantages of the section contiguous to the Patapsco river. Appreciating this, he marked the Doughoregan Manor tract as the future home of the family and built the Manor House which still stands. The building was begun soon after Mr. Carroll's return from England and Ireland and was very likely from plans secured by him while abroad. Ths building is a beautiful specimen of colonial architecture, two stories in height with wings that make it three hundred feet in length. A wide paneled hall leads to the library on the right where many generations of Carrolls have entertained their friends and transacted important business. It was in this room that Charles Carroll of Carrollton gathered

his family and some intimate friends to receive the committee from Washington that brought the two copies of the Declaration of Independence that were presented to him fifty years after the signing of that great document.

Charles Carroll died July 20, 1720, and his son Charles Carroll, remained abroad finishing his education and equipping himself for the duties ahead of him till 1723 when he returned in his twenty-first year to take charge of his estates. The property had been well managed by Mr. James Carroll, a cousin, during the three years after his father's death. Daniel Carroll, his younger brother, remained in Europe another year. Mr. Carroll found Annapolis much changed by the years he had been away. The new capital had been built near the mouth of the Severon river where the Puritans had settled on being driven out of Virginia because they would not conform to the teachings of the Church of England. It had been chartered as a city in 1708 and made a port of entry soon after. Mr. Carroll returned to this city where his father had been a most active citizen, and to find that his estate was one of the most valuable properties in the Province. Additions had been made to the city, new buildings, public and private, had been erected, forms of government had been made more perfect and all in all, the land he had left seemed transformed into a new region on his return.

CHAPTER IV

CHARLES CARROLL OF ANNAPOLIS IN THE PROVINCE OF MARYLAND

The second Charles Carroll, who having completed his education permanently took up his residence in Maryland in 1723, was generally known as Charles Carroll of Annapolis. He was the father of the signer and was a man of influence from the time of his return to the home of his childhood. Doughoregon Manor had been built and was the family seat of the Carrolls. But they also had a home in the new city of Annapolis, which by this time had become a place of considerable importance.

James Carroll, who as agent of the executors had been in active control after the death of the first Charles Carroll, lived till 1729 and continued in managerial work in coöperation with the heir who gradually assumed the burden and responsibilities; so that by the time of the death of his uncle the nephew was in touch with the work on all branches of the great estate.

His foresight enabled him to see the natural advantages of the Patapsco region near which Doughoregon was located and he encouraged the idea of this being the point for a great metropolis to which the rich lands of Maryland would become tributary.

With this idea in view, in the year of 1729, Mr. Carroll, in connection with some other land owners secured the passage of " an act for erecting a town on the north side of Patapsco, in Baltimore County, and for laying out into lots sixty acres of land in and about the place where one John Flemming now lives."

Flemming was a tenant of Mr. Carroll and resided in a house then usually called a Quarter, standing on the north bank of Uhler's run, and near General Strecker's home, afterwards on Charles street. Under the act an organization was formed for town government, and Baltimore was born. Although Mr. Carroll was the prime mover and the greatest beneficiary, his name nowhere appears in the records. The commissioners were appointed for life and were authorized to fill their own vacancies and appoint their own clerks.

The name of the county and city of Baltimore was intended as a compliment to the Lord Proprietor whose ancestor received his title of Baron from a seaport of that name in the County of Cork, Ireland. The first choice of a lot was reserved to the owner of the land and no one was to take more than one lot during the first four months. Mr. Carroll selected his lot and in December of the same year in behalf of himself and his brother, Daniel, he sold the entire tract to the commissioners who in turn sold it to actual settlers. The broad business liberality of the Carrolls was praised and Baltimore boomed. The beginning of the town was the point now designated as the corner of Pratt and Light streets. Mr. Carroll took the lot on Calvert street next to the river on the east side of the street which was lot 49. At that time Calvert was the only street that touched the river and Mr. Carroll's lot soon became more valuable than was the whole tract before the town was laid out. Among the early settlers came the Quaker families of Gorsuch, Giles, Fell, Hopkins, Matthews and Taylor. They were from England where they had suffered untold persecution and were induced to come to the colony on account of their acquaintance with, and friendliness for Mr. Carroll. All these names became intimately associated with the history of Maryland.

Mr. Carroll evidently entertained many of the advanced ideas of government that we see so conspicuously displayed in his son years afterward, for we find him in regard to the county government of his county saying:

> Let us not restore the property qualifications for the members of the Executive or Legislative department; trusting as we can safely, that persons elected by the people duly qualified, may be no less competent to serve the public from a want of fortune.

Charles Carroll of Annapolis married Elizabeth Brooke, daughter of Clement Brooke and Jane Sewell. The wife was well connected and was distantly related to her husband in two or three ways. Her people were Catholic landholders, educated and wealthy. One son was born and was named Charles, who became Charles Carroll of Carrollton, one of the very influential and conspicuous figures in colonial and national politics. The father lived to see his son achieve great honor as a statesman, but the mother died when he was only twenty-four years old.

At ten years of age, young Charles was sent to school at Bohemia Manor in Maryland and his cousin, John Carroll, afterwards the first Catholic Bishop in this country, was his fellow student. Bohemia Manor was a vast estate in Cecil County and the Jesuit order had there founded a school. This school was broader in its scope than most schools of that day and sought to lay the foundation of a practical and useful education. They taught many things to which little attention was given in most institutions of the time. Bookkeeping, the rudiments of surveying and navigation, as well as the classics were in the course of study.

Father Mansell who founded the school, was doubt-

less impressed by the results of a practical education as seen in Augustus Herman and his descendants, the wealthy owners of the great Bohemian and Herman estates around him. These estates were not only the richest on the eastern shore but among the most valuable in the whole country, and all the owners were men who had inherited the hard common sense of Augustus Herman the founder, and had been given what Augustus deemed good educations. One of these men could survey, navigate a ship, keep books or prepare and try a case at law. The great knowledge and ability of the men were as conspicuous as the vastness of the tracts of land they owned. The fertility of his resources is seen in the case of the original Herman who is put down as the inventor of naturalization. When he applied to the Lord Proprietor for a grant of land he found that he was barred by reason of his being a subject under control of Governor Stuyvesant of New York. But he said " I will fix that " and he prepared a set of papers in which he renounced every other allegiance and swore to become and be a faithful citizen of the Province of Maryland. This declaration was accepted in lieu of length of residence; and so far as known this is the first naturalization case of this or any other country.

And though years had elapsed the impress made by the hard common sense of Augustus Herman was still felt.

Father Mansell's school was a great success and to it came the sons of rich men, mostly Catholics from all parts of the Province and in fact, from all parts of the country. After remaining a little over a year in the school at Bohemia Manor, the two Carrolls returned to their homes preparatory to being sent abroad to continue their education.

Of course, they would go to St. Omers. That was the institution of their fathers and it is doubtful if any other place was ever considered. So in 1748 the two cousins found themselves in St. Omers with which both were familiar from frequent descriptions of school life there as father found it.

St. Omer was founded in 1592 and was a school for Catholic education of priests and others. St. Omer was a town of some 20,000 inhabitants and is only twenty-four miles from Calais, and therefore, very convenient to England. So, many English Catholics of wealth, sent their boys there to be educated. Doubtless other Carrolls had been pupils there before the Maryland branch of the family became patrons. Father Parsons, an English Jesuit, was the founder and the character of the school was kept as much English as possible. The Province of Artois in which St. Omer is located, was under the jurisdiction of the King of Spain, but passed into the hands of the French in 1678. The college prospered and, when the two Carroll boys arrived in 1748, was the home of wealthy boys of rich Catholic families of all parts of the world. There were several from the Province at this time besides the Carrolls.

In 1750 Mr. Carroll devised a scheme for a great colonization of Catholics from Maryland to the southwest on the territory that now forms the State of Arkansas. The unfair and oppressive laws that had been enacted by the Assembly and sanctioned by the new Lord Proprietor, now a Protestant, formed a constant source of irritation. The Carrolls themselves were not directly sufferers to a great extent. They were men of great wealth and high character and were usually excepted by name in the enactment of anti-Catholic laws, but they chafed under the unfairness

and injustice done their less fortunate coreligionists. His scheme met ready coöperation and a very large number was enrolled. The constant planting of an exhausting crop like tobacco had worn down the Maryland soil and the stories of the rich land in the Mississippi valley offered their fascinations.

Mr. Carroll selected a spot on the west side of the Arkansas river, commencing at its mouth and running a hundred and twenty miles up that river across to the Mississippi river, then to the place of beginning, at the mouth of the river Arkansas. Today this would be the splendid triangle with the Mississippi river as the western boundary and Little Rock and Memphis at the other two angles. This territory then belonged to the King of France with whose minister Mr. Carroll had conferred and was encouraged to believe the plan could be carried out.

In the Spring of 1751, Mr. Carroll made a trip abroad in answer to several business demands, and to make a visit to his son. During this trip he laid the matter before the French King who encouraged the idea but thought the grant of land asked altogether too large. The man from Maryland would not consider less, and the matter was left in abeyance and Mr. Carroll returned without having fully accomplished his purpose, though he had the promise of a tract ample for immediate purposes.

But his efforts in this direction had the effect of causing a relaxation of the offensive laws; and with this result achieved the Maryland Catholics were much less disposed to go west. The following letter to his son, written after Mr. Carroll's return from Europe, throws light on the friendly terms that existed between the father and son. Though it is not the purpose of this work to go very fully into the presentation of

correspondence and State papers, this letter is too illuminating not to be given:

Oct. 10th, 1753.

Dear Charley:—

I received your several letters of August 30th, December 20th, 1752, and March 6th, 1753, which are all most welcome to me, and altho' a hurry of business prevents my often writing to you, you may be assured you are always in my thoughts and that I most earnestly wish your happiness. As you have no such avocations I desire I may often hear from you. Since you have not a good dancing-Master, you were in the right to discontinue learning, but when you can meet with a good one you must resume it, for nothing contributes more to give a gentleman a graceful and easy carriage. You may sometime hence meet with a good painter and then with your mother I shall be glad to have your picture in the compass of 15 inches by 12.

Your opinion of Europe and the people there will be much altered when you return to your native country. Fops are the object of contempt and ridicule everywhere, but it is from the fine gentleman you are to take example. Dear child, I long to see you, but I did not send you so far only to learn a little Greek and Latin. Where you are you can only lay a foundation for other studies which may hereafter be profitable to yourself and useful to your friends. When you have gone thro' them the rest of your life will be a continued scene of ease and Satisfaction, if you keep invariably in the paths of truth and of virtue. The husbandman annually repeats the toil of dressing, plowing and sowing for his harvest. When you have completed higher studies your toil will be over, and your harvest will daily and always come in. I am very glad to see you are so sensible of the advantages of a virtuous education, and that you are resolved to make the best

use of it. Mr. Wappeler informs me you are third in your school, which gives me great pleasure, and as your judgment unfolds itself and ripens, I expect to hear of your still rising; "Aut Caesar aut Nullus." The ambition to excel in virtue and learning is laudable.

We are still threatened by our Assembly, but I hope by the interposition of our friends in London, it will not be in their power to hurt us. A continual calm in life is no more to be expected than on the ocean.

Pray present my humble services to your Master, whose care of and kindness toward you deserve greater acknowledgments from me than I have in my power to repay. I am under the same obligations to Mr. Wappeler and Newton, which, pray let them know with my humble service and compliments to them. I desire also my compliments to Mr. Falkner, and am very glad to hear he is contented in his station. If you please he may be of service to you in arithmetic. Jacky I suppose is gone up the hill. Remember me to Watty, Mr. Warring and all the Marylandians. Your mama, grandma, Aunt Jenny and all your friends in general are all well. I hope the books got safe to you, and that Cicero's life has in particular given you pleasure.

You entered into the 17th year of your age on the 19th of last month, being born the 8th of September, 1737, old stile. Your judgment therefore will enable you to enter into the reason of the rules and lessons you are learning. Children learn like parrots, memory and practice aid them chiefly, but men of sense do not content themselves with knowing a thing, but make themselves thoroughly acquainted with the reasons on which that knowledge is founded. I beg you will carefully observe this in your present and future studies. Memory may fail you, but when an impression is made by reason it will last as long as you retain understanding.

I cannot wish to have a better account of you

than what I have from Messrs. Carvall, Wappeler and Newton, and I doubt not you will daily merit it more and more. If you do it will afford me the greatest comfort and satisfaction and increase the love I have for you.

I am, dear Charley,

Most affectionately your father,

CHARLES CARROLL.

To Mr. Charles Carroll,
at Blandike.

In 1731 Charles Carroll of Annapolis in connection with Dr. Chas. Carroll, father of Chas. Carroll, the barrister, founded the Patapsco Iron Works Company which made the first successful effort in this region to manufacture iron. This must have been a pretty successful effort for Mr. Carroll of Annapolis in the year 1764 put down his one-fifth interest as being worth £10,000.

Dr. Charles Carroll was very distantly related to the Daniel Carroll branch but that they had worked out the relationship is shown in the fact they always addressed each other as Cousin.

Dr. Charles Carroll was a Protestant and the two working together doubtless could achieve many purposes that neither could have done if they had worked separately.

CHAPTER V

STUDENT LIFE AT LE GRAND — LAW AND LOVE IN LONDON — AN INTERESTING LETTER

After about a year and a half at St. Omer, young Charles was found fitted for entering the college of Louis Le Grand at Paris where he was to spend four years in completing his classical education and fitting himself for the study of English law, which he was to pursue in London. He was doubtless instructed as his father before him had been, that his study of the law was not for the purpose of enabling him to earn money as a practitioner, but to equip him for the burdens of handling a great estate and for the responsibilities of a public career. For in those days men were educated and trained for public life. In the case of Mr. Carroll, as well as that of nearly every one associated with him in the patriot cause, his education was along lines to best fit him for a clear understanding and a forceful exposition of the great problems of government with which he would have to contend. There was not much haphazard in the matter of men getting into great public positions. The ones trained for the work were the ones that had it in hand, and those best trained stood the best chance. There was doubtless another strong incentive for work and thorough equipment. The Carrolls were Roman Catholics and they had for two generations suffered from, and chafed under the disadvantage in this regard; under which they labored. To rise above all this and become influential and strong, a man must be not only equal to the tasks that public life imposed, but he must be so able and thorough as to be almost indispensable. It was this

kind of equipment to which young Charles Carroll was aiming. How well he attained it will be shown as his career unfolds.

Letters to and from his father in Maryland showed how close in thought and feelings the two were; though so far separated and so seldom able to meet. But the letters kept them in touch.

College life at Le Grand was just as exacting in the matter of studies as he had found it at St. Omer; but the attitude of the young man and his studious habits enabled him easily to keep at the head of each of his classes. The father was always pleased with his reports and didn't hesitate to express himself freely to that effect. He praised the boy, thanked the masters, and encouraged him constantly to put forth his best efforts. How helpful and encouraging these letters from home were, was constantly shown in the later life of young Charles.

Though it is not the purpose to reproduce letters the following is so pertinent that it cannot well be omitted. It is interesting beyond the matter of being a family letter, for it tells of the conflicting claims of England and France to part of this continent; and tells the story with a clearness and exactness that will make the letter most interesting to readers of the present day. It is in answer to an inquiry on this matter and is for the purpose of enabling the young man to discuss the subject intelligently.

July 26, 1756.

Dear Charley:—

I have received the following letters from you Dec. 14th, 1755, one without a date wrote as I suppose about the 10th of last January, and the last dated February 27th, 1756. You may be assured they were all very welcome to me and your mama. I suppose you may buy Locke and Newton in

Paris, if not desire your cousin Anthony to write to Mr. Perkins to send them to you or any other books you may want. As war is declared I know not how you will get these books. The carriage through Holland will amount to more than the first cost. If they could be sent to Rouen they would by the Seine reach you at little expense.

Tho' we are threatened with the introduction of the English Penal Laws into this Province, they are not yet introduced. But last May a law passed here to double tax the lands of all Roman Catholics. I wrote you the 16th of last September and then enclosed one from your mama; as you do not acknowledge the receipt of that letter, I suppose your mama's letter miscarried with it.

I am glad to hear you enjoy your health at Paris. I sent your letter to your cousin, Walter Hoxton. There was no final decree against Dr. Carroll. He died before the cause was ripe for a trial, but I hope his son will be obliged in time to pay what his father justly owed. All your letters give reason to hope my scheme will succeed. I have wrote to cousin Anthony to whom I refer you on this head, as I refer him to you for what follows: You desire to know the origin of our American war, and the events that have happened in the course of it. I will endeavor to satisfy you in as clear and concise a manner as I can. If the priority of discovery was only to give a title to lands in America, the King of Spain would be entitled to all America; as neither France or England would agree to such a claim each of them must found their title to their several dominions here in possession. The uncontested possessions of the English seem to be from Kennebeki River southward to the river Savanna which is the northern boundary of our new colony of Georgia.

The possessions of the French before the Treaty of Utrecht were from the Keenebeki to the northward to include Arcadie, all Nova Scotia, New France or Canada, and Louisiana. The first set-

tlements of both nations were upon the shores of the seas and rivers that wash their several territories. As their colonies increased the French extended their settlements to the eastward, the English theirs to the westward. The settlements under the different nations now approaching each other the question is how far the English shall extend theirs to the westward and the French theirs to the eastward.

The English in many or most of their grants extend the western bounds of their colonies to the South Sea but may be not with much justice or reason, for by this pretension they would not only swallow up all the French settlements on the Mississippi, but New Mexico which the Spaniards will hardly consent to. Nature seems to have pointed out other boundaries to the two nations which perhaps in the next treaty of peace they may establish. The French as settled on St. Lawrence and Mississippi, I suppose claim all the lands watered by the several rivers and streams falling into the said rivers. The English by a parity of reason may as justly claim the lands lying on the several rivers and streams emptying themselves into the Atlantic Ocean. This diversion of the waters is made by the Apalathean Mountains which take their rise in the point of Florida and extend thence to the northward, inclining more or less to the eastward, and this chain of mountains as I said before, may perhaps be hereafter agreed on as the common boundary between the contending powers.

The dispute about their possessions to the northward is of a more intricate nature. The French were certainly the first settlers not only of Canada but of Nova Scotia and Acadie which they contend to be two different provinces. The English on the contrary contend that Nova Scotia includes all Acadie. The priority of the French possession of the aforesaid countries I believe is undisputed, and tho' they were formerly disturbed in their possession of Nova Scotia, under

which name I include Acadie, yet by treaties Nova Scotia was always restored to them, except by the treaty of Utrecht. By the Treaty of Utrecht the French ceded all Nova Scotia to England. The dispute at present between the two nations is about the bounds of Nova Scotia, which the French pretend to establish in such a manner as to leave out a great part of that province to themselves under the names of Acadie and Gaspisie. As far as I have read, the English by the Treaty of Utrecht, seem to have a right to all Nova Scotia and Acadia, but as provinces and states seldom think themselves bound by treaties which unsuccessful war, or a bad state of affairs, forces them to enter into, I imagine that France, seeing the importance of Nova Scotia and Acadia, not only to their trade and navigation, but to their colony of Canada, are now endeavoring to avail themselves of a favorable time and occasion to recover by force Nova Scotia and Acadia, which only force and necessity wrested from them.

According ever since the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, the French have been encroaching on the English in Nova Scotia. They made some settlements at St. John's River in the Bay of Fundy, or as the French call it Baye Francois; they erected forts on the peninsula between Bay Vert and Beaubasin. The English last summer took these places from the French by forces sent from New England, with little loss, and have removed all the French neutrals in Nova Scotia, some say to the number of 12 or 15,000 souls, to their different colonies on the continent, where they have been treated with more or less humanity. It has been the misfortune of 900 and odd of these poor people to be sent to Maryland, where they have been entirely supported by private charity, and the little they can get by their labor, which for want of employment has been but a poor resource to them. Many of them would have met with very humane treatment from the Roman

Catholics here, but a real or pretended jealousy inclined this government not to suffer them to live with Roman Catholics. I offered the government to take and support two families consisting of fourteen souls, but was not permitted to do it.

The case of these poor unhappy people is so hard that I wonder it has not been taken notice of by some of our political writers in England. They, since the Treaty of Utrecht have been permitted to enjoy their property and possessions upon taking an oath of allegiance to the King of England. This oath they say they have never violated, the truth whereof seems to be confirmed by the capitulations of the forts of Beaubasin, by an article whereof the neutrals taken in these forts were pardoned as being forced by the French under the pain of military execution to take up arms. However their fidelity was suspected and they have been sacrificed to the security of our settlements in her part of the world. They have neither been treated as subjects or enemies; as subjects they were entitled to the benefit of our laws, and ought to have been tried and found guilty before they could be punished, and to punish them all, all ought to have been tried and convicted. If they are deemed enemies they ought to be treated as such and maintained as prisoners of war. But no care has been taken here in that respect.

These poor people for their numbers were perhaps the most happy of any on the globe. They manufactured all they wore, and their manufactures were good; they raised in great plenty the provisions they consumed; their inhabitations were warm and comfortable; they were all upon a level, being all husbandmen, and consequently as void of ambition as human nature can be. They appear to be very regular and religious, and that from principle and a perfect knowledge of their duty, which convinces me that they were blessed with excellent pastors. But alas, how is their case altered. They were at once stripped of everything but the clothes on their backs; many have

The drive leading to the Manor

Interior of the Manor House

died in consequence of their sufferings, and the survivors see no prospect before them but want and misery.

The first hostilities on the Ohio began in 1754. The Virginians attempted to build a fort there, which the French prevented, and constructed one themselves called Fort DuQuesne. It was upon his march to this fort that General Braddock was defeated and killed. The victory was as complete as could be. We lost at least 800 in the field. The greatest part of our train and magazines fell into the enemies hands, the rest was destroyed to facilitate our retreat. What adds to our shame is that we suffered this disgrace from between three and five hundred Indians. This information I had from an officer of distinction who I believe knew what he said to be fact, and on whose honor and veracity I have reason to rely. I hope for the honor of the French nation, that Indians were only concerned in this action, for the wounded were all massacred, an inhumanity which I am confident French officers and soldiers would not be guilty of.

The next action of consequence was between the troops under the command of the Generals Dieskau and Johnson near the Lake of the Sacrament. The loss of men on either side was very inconsiderable; I believe we lost most, about three hundred. We were prevented from attacking Fort St. Frederic, as were the French from destroying General Shirley's army at Oswego on Lake Ontario, by cutting off the communication between Albany and that place. In case Dieskau (who is still at New York and likely to live) had been victorious, Shirley must have surrendered himself, his army and Oswego, probably without striking a stroke. Albany must also have surrendered, and New York perhaps might have been destroyed, which will give you a proper idea of the importance of the lucky stand made by General Johnson, whose service has been honorably and bountifully rewarded by his Majesty.

Since that action both Nations seem to act on a defensive plan, except that the French by parties have now and then surprised small convoys of prisoners, &c., going to Oswego. Our naval force on Lake Ontario according to our Gazettes, consists of seven armed scows, brigs, sloops, and schooners carrying 22 six pounders, 52 four pounders, and 80 swivels, and upwards of 230 whaleboats each carrying 16 men. I know not what vessels the French have there to oppose us. Their not attacking Oswego last winter seems to point out their weakness. This is all I know of the events of the war to the northward of this time, except several murders committed by their savages.

From New York southward, since Braddock's defeat, the French have only attacked us by their Indians, who have (committed) and still continue to commit, the most shocking barbarities on our back settlers in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia; but I find these our sufferings are vastly magnified in the English papers. I do not believe these provinces have lost at this time, killed and captivated, three hundred souls, 200 in Pennsylvania, about 25 in Maryland, the rest in Virginia. The remotest of my lands have not suffered, and I think myself and your mama to be in no more danger than you are at Paris, Maryland being in a great measure screened by the more advanced settlements of Pennsylvania and Virginia. The Indians act as wolves in small parties and by surprise, and it is no wonder that the British subjects entirely undisciplined, should hitherto have suffered, but daily precautions are taking for our security, by erecting lines of forts on all our frontier which will not only protect us but intercept the savages on their retreat, which they constantly make as soon as they (paper torn). My plantation where you lived has been greatly improved. But that and all my other possessions I am determined to quit, if I can meet with the

> success I expect from my scheme. I shall remove from a settled and a well improved estate, and in the scale of which I expect to lose to the value of at least L. 10,000 sterling; but to procure ease to myself by flying from the pursuits of envy and malice, and to procure a good establishment for you, I am willing to undergo and struggle with all the difficulties and inconveniences attending on a new settlement in a new climate. There is but one man in the Province whose fortune equals mine. Judge from this of the love I bear you, but at the same time be persuaded that my affection is greatly increased by the most agreeable accounts I receive of your pious, prudent and regular behavior, of your sweet temper and disposition, of the proficiency and figure you make in your studies.

Other letters to his son following the one given are more of a family nature but all show the close fellowship between father and son. In one of these the senior Carroll in acknowledging the son's good wishes says:

> "My dear Child: I thank you for your good wishes; nothing can happen to me more agreeable than a completion of them. However, I beg you will be persuaded that in every step of mine relating to you, your happiness only has been my aim. Make use of the advantages I give you; improve your time and in a few years you will clearly see the advantages bestowed on you by a provident and tender father."

He advised his son not to make too general an acquaintance. A return of civilities to all, but an intimacy not to be contracted with any. He tells the boy that it is much easier to make acquaintance than to shake off an acquaintance when made.

Having attained his majority, young Charles was to

go to London and spend some time in study and society. His father wrote him to be courteous and friendly to the Lord Proprietor if he met him but not to go out of the way to show any special deference. The father evidently hadn't any great regard for a man he thought had changed his religion to advance his material condition. The Catholics of Maryland were still under many restrictions. All but those especially exempted had to pay double taxes, could not vote and were not permitted to hold office. On one occasion the elder Carroll wrote "And all this is a province founded by Catholics, with religious liberty and toleration for all, as the main feature of its government."

Fretting somewhat under these conditions, Mr. Carroll on reaching home from a visit to his son in 1759, wrote that he still felt like selling the Maryland estates and moving to a new country on account of the future of the boy.

In 1760 Mr. Carroll senior wrote to his son that he must remain at his studies for fully four years more, saying, " you cannot acquire perfect knowledge of the law in less." The death of Mary Brooke Carroll, mother of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, occurred March 12, 1761, while the young man was a student in London. She had been ill for more than two years and for ten months he had expected each mail to bring news of her death.

Letters between the father and son while the latter was a student in London are of the same loving tone and the young man tells details of his life in the great city and the progress he is making in his studies. The father repeats his wish to leave the Province on account of the ill treatment of the Catholics and in a letter dated July 14, 1760, says, " if I were younger I

would certainly leave here." He recommends the son to learn the art of bookkeeping and also surveying. The son tells his father of his work in tracing the genealogy of the family and generally of his life and activities in London. He visited the House of Commons frequently and had the opportunity of hearing Mr. Pitt and other distinguished men. He tells of one visit where he found Mr. Pitt " for once dull, tedious and insipid."

He makes frequent and interesting mention of his studies, explains how he is pursuing the study of law, tells that he had acquired a knowledge of bookkeeping sufficient for carrying accounts of his own affairs; and for examinations of books kept by others.

The father tells of the doings at home and especially of matters likely to be of most interest to the young man. He entered " Nimble," a horse belonging to young Charles for the races. Nimble won two heats but lost the race.

In a letter written in April, 1763, Charles Carroll of Annapolis begins telling his son to make preparations for returning home. He instructs him to look around about February, impresses upon him to find a substantial seaworthy ship with a neat captain and one who lives well. He warns him against getting on a ship with " servants and fellows " and insists that too many cabin passengers will not be found desirable. Three or four will be enough for company. He says " be very inquisitive about the age of the ship " and adds " about this time twelve months I shall be as impatient as you have been for a long time past." He makes a postcript to say " I have been offered 100 pounds for Nimble and have refused it."

Young Charles wrote his father about a Miss Baker to whom he was paying attention. His father hopes

"the young lady may be endowed with all the good sense and good nature you say she has." But nothing came of the matter, so that Charles Carroll returned to find his bride among the ladies of the Province. There was some talk of Miss Baker's fortune which was small, but this does not seem to have had any bearing on the matter.

CHAPTER VI

PREPARING FOR HIS RETURN TO THE HOME OF HIS CHILDHOOD

The correspondence between the father and son during the last year of young Charles' life abroad related mostly to the preparations for the young man's return. The father's letters contained reminders of the necessities of the voyage and of the things he should bring over. Among these were some good blooded stock, books, book cases, house furniture and other things which in that day the colonists imported from England. Young Charles spoke of a servant but hardly had thought that a good one could be induced to transport himself. He admits a want of the practical side of a law education because he could not find such an instructor as seemed desirable. In a letter dated September, 1763, Mr. Carroll senior mentions that his grandfather was living in 1688. It is thought more than probable that he died just previous to the visit which Charles, the immigrant, made to London at the time of the death of Lord Baltimore.

About this time Mr. Carroll senior in a letter to the young man in London gives a summary of his estate. The estimate of value made at that time was as follows:

40,000 acres of land, two seats alone containing each upwards of 12,000 acres would now sell at 20 shillings per acre.....	£40,000
1/5 of iron works with forges, 150 , teams, carts and 30,000 acres, a growing estate which produces to my one-fifth annually £400	10,000

20 lots and houses in Annapolis...	£4,000
285 slaves £30 each.....	8,550
Cattle, horses, stock and tools and plantations	1,000
Silver and household plate.....	600
Debts outstanding at interest when I balanced my books.....	24,230.97
	£88,380.97

You must not suppose my annual income to equal the interest on the value of my estate. Many of my lands are unimproved, but I compute I have a clear revenue of at least 1,800 per annum, and the value of my estate is annually increasing.

I propose upon your coming to Maryland to convey to you my Manor of Carrollton 10,000 acres and the addition thereto of 2,700 acres now producing annually £250 sterling, one-half of which is let. Also my share of the iron works producing at least 400£.

On my death I am willing to add my Manor of Doughoregon 10,000 acres and also 1,425 acres called Chance adjacent thereto on which the bulk of my negroes are settled. As you are my only child you will, of course, have all the residue of my estate at my death. Your return to me will be, I hope next Fall.

Some time previous to this, Mr. Jenison, one of the Masters, wrote the following letter to Maryland and it was doubtless very gratifying to the elder Carroll for he endorsed it:

"A character of my son:

By Mr. Jenison his Master."

Tho' I am not in a disposition of writing letters, having lost this morning the finest young man, in every respest, that ever enter'd the House, you will perhaps, afterwards, have the pleasure of assuring yourself by experience that I have not exaggerated

> Charles Carroll's character in the foregoing lines. The Captain will be able to give you, I hope, a satisfactory account of him. It is very natural I should regret the loss of one who during the whole time he was under my care, never deserved, on any account, a single harsh word, and whose sweet temper rendered him equally agreeable both to equals and superiors, without ever making him degenerate into the mean character of a favorite which he always justly despised. His application to his Book and Devotions was constant and unchangeable, nor could we perceive the least difference in his conduct evern after having read the news of his destination, which, you know, is very usual with young people here. This short character I owe to his deserts — prejudice I am convinced, has no share in it, as I find the public voice confirms my sentiments. Both inclination and justice prompt me to say more, yet I rather chuse to leave the rest to Captain Carroll, to inform you of by word of mouth.

During his stay in London he made many short trips to interesting places in the vicinity. And he made it a point as far as possible to go to places not usually visited by the traveler. He became much interested in the names he found had been transferred to Maryland and with which he had been made familiar by letters from home, and by the Maryland Gazette of which he was a constant reader from the time he went to the college in Paris. At St. Omer his masters did not think it well for his mind to be diverted by reading the newspaper.

On a visit to Yorkshire he went to see Sherman Woods, the scene of Robin Hoods' adventures and found himself dining at an inn at Skipton and stopping at Easton and Lewes. He wanted to see the River Wye because of his familiarity with the name. He found it a romantic and picturesque body of water and was

interested to encounter the name of Plimhimmon given to one of the nearby mountains. Years afterwards when the eminent Charles Carroll of Carrollton was making the trip up Lake George in New York State he remarked to his companions, "this reminds me of a section of the Wye in England."

He took the greatest interest in the history and traditions of the rooms and buildings occupied by the lawyers and courts. In a letter to his father he seriously criticised the conditions imposed on a man who desired, after his qualification as to learning, to become a member of the Temple. The student must obtain the certificate of the barristers and in case the middle temple, that of a bencher to show he is "aptus habitis, et idoneus montris et scientia." On his admission, he has the use of the library, may claim a seat in church or chapel of the Inn and can have his name set down for Chambers. He must then keep commons, by dining in hall for twelve years, of which there are four each year. Before keeping terms, he must also deposit 100 with the treasurer, to be returned without interest when he is called to the bar. No student can be called till he is of three years standing and twenty-one years old. After he is called he becomes a Barrister.

The young man thought all this probably well enough for one who was expecting to earn his living as a London lawyer, but he couldn't see much in it worth while to one who was going to return to America to manage estates and enter politics. For notwithstanding all his father had told him of the hindrance he would meet with on account of his religion he believed a way would be opened and that he would be able to take such a place in public life as he might be found fitted to occupy.

In London young Charles pretty closely followed his father's advice, to treat all with civility but made few

intimacies. He belonged to several clubs and visited them frequently and met the civilities of the day, making the acquaintance of such as he cared to meet on a friendly footing. A young man of education, refinement and ample means would have no difficulty in making acquaintances. As his father intimated there would be much greater difficulty in getting rid of the undesirable ones. This he fully understood and acted accordingly. There were a number of young men from Maryland in London at this time completing their educations and preparing for professional careers. He was on friendly terms with all these and some of the acquaintances were continued with pleasure and advantages after their return to the Province. Lloyd Dulany, Edmund Jennings, John Hammond, Philip Lee, Wm. Paca and others are mentioned as among the Marylandians he frequently met in London. He doubtless met Cecelius Calvert and treated him with becoming courtesy but didn't make over him. Such a meeting was not considered worth mentioning in his correspondence.

Finally the time came for his return to America. Many and in detail were the preparations he made. He bought stock and household articles including books for the library and a thousand labels for putting into the books.

Little details are given of his trip over except that he followed his father's directions in chosing a ship and found the officers and passengers agreeable people.

There is no record of the fact but there is every reason to believe that Capt. John Barry afterwards known as Commodore Barry was a young officer on the ship that brought Charles Carroll home. The Carrolls had usually made it a point to travel on the ship, The Two Sisters, which was commanded by Captain Carroll, a distant relative. This ship made regular trips between

Annapolis and London and was owned by Mr. Perkins a wealthy merchant, who attended to the affairs of the Carroll family in London. Many of the young Marylandians studying in London made the trips across the Atlantic in The Two Sisters. But this ship had gone out of commission and Captain Carroll had retired before the return of young Charles. This accounts for the instructions of the elder Carroll about looking for a suitable ship. That the young man found such a one is evidenced by the fact of the pleasant and prompt voyage he had.

Nothing is anywhere said about young Barry being on the ship that brought Mr. Carroll home. But they were well acquainted previous to Captain Barry's deciding to apply to the Marine Board for a command in the proposed navy of the United Colonies. Barry's home was in Philadelphia which city the Carrolls often visited, but as Barry was most of the time at sea there was not much chance of their getting acquainted there. It is evident that Captain Barry knew him well when he went to Annapolis for a talk about the prospects of a commission in the navy and several circumstances make it seem probable that the acquaintance was made during Mr. Carroll's trip to America.

Captain Barry sailed in ships that traveled from Liverpool to Annapolis and was familiar with the Maryland metropolis. That the lifelong acquaintance and friendship that existed between the two men began when Charles Carroll was returning to America in his twenty-seventh year and Barry was the twenty-one year old officer of the ship is more than probable.

On the arrival of young Charles Carroll in Annapolis in 1764, the Manor at Carrollton was fitted up with the idea of it becoming the home of young Charles; and from the time of his arrival in this country he was Charles Carroll of Carrollton and he always

so wrote his name. The blooded stock, the book cases and furniture were transported to the Manor at Carrollton but young Charles at first put in most of his time in Annapolis where his father maintained a city home.

Since the above was written a Life of Jack Barry published in Hartford, Conn., in 1809, has been discovered. It tells much of the adventures of this patriotic sailor not known to readers of the present day and not mentioned in any history or encyclopedia. It explains the beginning of the acquaintance between Charles Carroll of Carrollton and First Mate Barry on Mr. Carroll's voyage returning to America when Mr. Carroll was 26 years old and Mate Barry barely 21. The author of this work has access to a copy of this book the property of a prominent man in Brooklyn. The owner refuses to sell the Life of Barry but has put it at the disposal of the author of this work for literary purposes.

CHAPTER VII

RETURNS TO MARYLAND AND BECOMES CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON

Charles Carroll came home an accomplished, educated, traveled young man. His father doubtless found in him all he had hoped to find; a well poised and also a well posted and well read man. Never father built more on the possibilities of a son, and never son more fully met the fondest hopes of a father. He had met men, studied books and visited places. He was prepared to associate with the men who were dominating public affairs, and to become one of the most influential of those dominating spirits. His experience and contact with the best minds of Europe served to make him self-reliant as well as keen, clear headed and assertive. His father most likely, merely hoped that he would turn out to be a prosperous business man, an influential citizen and a high grade Christian gentleman. But doubtless the son had aims at position, influence and usefulness commensurate with his ability and equipment; notwithstanding the disadvantage under which he labored by reason of his religion. He meant from the first to make his talents so useful that the public would demand and receive the best that was in him.

He came directly to Annapolis where he was met by his father. The blooded stock and utensils he had brought over were, most of them, sent to the estate called Carrollton. This estate his father transferred to him with much other property and the young man became Charles Carroll of Carrollton. He always wrote his name that way from this time on, and the stories of his adding " of Carrollton " as an after-

thought had no foundation in fact. He was Charles Carroll of Carrollton, and so he always wrote his name. His father resided at Doughoregon Manor and the younger man at Carrollton, but a house was maintained in Annapolis which under the broad hospitality of that day was the joint home of father and son as well as the abiding place of any member of the family who happened to find it convenient to be in Annapolis. Both of the Carrolls spent much of their time in Annapolis, because it was a central point for their business affairs, and being the capital of the Province they here had the opportunity of frequently meeting the leading men of this Province and as well those of other colonies, who came here on political or business visits.

All the odious laws against Catholics were still on the books but were less rigorously enforced than formerly. The earnest talk of a wholesale departure of Catholics for the French southwest had deeply impressed itself on the citizens of the Province and life for the Catholics had become much more tolerable. But the disqualifications from holding office continued, though the Carrolls and a few others were excepted in the letter as well as the spirit of the law.

At once he busied himself with the affairs of the plantations and devoted his time to devising improved methods of industry and to applying the knowledge he had gained in his travels. He had picked up some ideas in Ireland, some in Wales and some in Holland as well as in England and France. He brought much that was new and soon became deeply interested in the application of the ideas he had picked up.

He took great interest in the growth and development of Baltimore which was now a considerable city having a population of some eighteen thousand and still growing rapidly. Though not a resident or voter he had great interest in its affairs. The county seat of

Baltimore County was still at Jappa to the great inconvenience of the people; but about the time of Mr. Carroll's first visit a movement was on foot to build a court house and jail in the city and move the county seat from Jappa to Baltimore. The lot on Calvert street where the monument now stands was secured and the court house built on the east end of the lot and the jail was erected facing what is now St. Paul's street.

Mr. Fell, a leading citizen of Baltimore, died about this time and Charles Carroll of Carrollton representing his father attended the greatest funeral the city had seen up to that period of its history. Mr. Fell owned that part of the city still known as Fells Point and did much towards giving the new metropolis its first impetus. In 1769 Charles Carroll of Annapolis started a subscription to buy the first fire engine and Baltimore's first fire company, "The Mechanical," was organized. The important part that fire companies played in later years, in the social, economic, political and judicial history of Baltimore, only the old Baltimorians can tell. The next year Mr. Carroll of Annapolis donated the lot on Saratoga street and Charles Carroll of Carrollton headed the subscription for building St. Peters Chapel the first Catholic place of worship in Baltimore. It was ten years, however, before a regular priest was engaged. But from this time on there was less discussions on religious matters between Catholics and Protestants, mainly because other questions attracted the attention of the people and the management of the Church of England in the Province had fallen into disrepute. In 1771 Mr. Lemuel Cravath of Boston came to the Province as a merchant and proved to be a most enterprising man. He soon made the acquaintance of "young Mr. Carroll" who coöperated with him in many successful undertakings. From

early life to old age it was a habit of Mr. Carroll to find some one skilled in a particular line and to furnish the money for developing a business. In the latter part of his life he said "It is pleasant to reflect that I usually backed the right people. The many successes and few failures of our enterprises is evidence of this."

Joseph Rathell attempted to found a circulating library in 1770 and Mr. Carroll furnished many books which he had brought from Europe. The effort was not successful but according to the record "Mr. Rathell honorably returned all the books that had been entrusted to him."

Mr. Carroll's first winter in Annapolis was an unusually severe one, and winter sports became popular. The newspaper tell of his becoming one of a "merry set of gentlemen who erected a commodious tent on the ice, where they diverted themselves with dancing reels on skates, serving good dinners and divers other amusements."

In his studies abroad the science of government had taken an important place. The books sent him by Mr. Perkins from London show this. The writings of Locke were just then making their first great impression on the minds of thoughtful men and these great works with similar books on government, rights of man, liberty, etc., were among those he needed and used in his studies. Though his father believed that the doors of a public career were closed to his son, it is doubtful if Charles Carroll of Carrollton ever admitted the possibility of such a condition. Certainly he had admirably equipped himself for an important part in the struggle he felt was impending. During the last few years he had been surrounded but not influenced by the atmosphere of English thought and action. His innate love of liberty and justice, his deep

sympathy for a struggling people, and a desire to see public wrongs promptly righted, put him fully on the side of the colonists in every question that arose. That he was heart, soul, mind and body on the side of the people and so admirably equipped for the conflict is what made him the tremendous instrument for good that he afterward proved to be.

Every one was discussing the stamp act when he reached America and he had given full study to all phases of it before coming and while on the sea.

The stamp officer for Maryland, Zacharial Hood, was so despised that his residing in the Province was made impossible. The people of Annapolis made an effigy of Hood, tied it to a cart and whipped it through the streets.

In September Mr. Carroll wrote "should the stamp act be enforced by a tyrannical parliament our property, our liberty, our very existence would be at an end." On the 30th of the same month he wrote to a friend in England:

> To judge from the number of colonists, and the spirit they have already shown, and which I hope to God will not fail them on the day of trial, twenty thousand men would find it difficult to enforce the law; or more properly speaking to ram it down our throats. Can England, surrounded with powerful enemies, distracted with intestine factions, encumbered, and almost staggering under the immense load of debt — little short of one hundred and fifty million pounds — send out such a powerful army to deprive a free people, their fellow-subjects of their rights and liberties? If ministerial influence and parliamentary corruption should not blush at such a detestable scheme; if Parliament, blind to their own interest, and forgetting that they are the guardians of sacred liberty and of our happy constitution, should have the impudence to avow this open infraction of

> both; will England, her commerce annihilated by the opposition of America, be able to maintain those troops?

Socially he soon became interested in the doings of his family and friends but for a year he thought to remain a bachelor. In May, 1766, however, he shows a change of heart and in letters to his friends intimates that he will be married in June. The object of his affection was Miss Rachael Cooke. The wedding was set for the 8th of July but in June he was taken with a fever and was ill for some weeks. The marriage, of course, had to be put off. The 10th of November was next set for the wedding day. He speaks in tender loving terms of Miss Cooke and expected to be married on the date named. But Miss Cooke was next taken with fever and on the date set for the wedding day was extremely ill. She died on the 25th of November. Writing a few days after her death, he says, " I loved her sincerely and had every reason to believe that I was sincerely loved. Judge of my loss and by it of what I now feel." He was with her at the time of her death.

His relations with his father were most cordial and confidential and continued so all their lives. Some one told his friend that the elder Carroll had given him £40,000. To this he wrote saying it was not true; but the truth was that the whole fortune of his father was at his disposal.

In about a year he writes to a friend quoting, " hope springs eternal in the human heart " and tells of his expectation of being married soon. This time it was Mary Darnall of the same family and the same name as his grandmother who at sixteen won the heart of Charles Carroll the immigrant. He thinks her endowed with every quality to make him happy in the married state. She has, he says, virtue, good sense and good

temper. He intimates that she may be a little too young for him but probably recalls that his grandfather and grandmother of the same names as himself and the lady were about the ages of the present pair. The greater difference in years was on the side of the grandparents.

On account of some business reasons it was desirable to get a law passed in regard to dower and settlements; and waiting for this, the marriage was postponed. He mentions that though she has not money, he prefers her thus unprovided for, to all the women he had ever seen. The marriage settlement was made June 4th, 1768, and on the following day they were married. The Maryland Gazette announces the event as follows:

> On Sunday evening was married at his father's house in his city, Charles Carroll, Jr., to Miss Mary Darnall, an agreeable young lady endowed with every accomplishment necessary to make the connubial state happy.

His love of his native land had been in no wise dimmed by his long residence abroad. In fact he seems never to have lost interest, or to have gotten out of touch with home affairs. This is wonderful when one thinks how far away Europe was in that day and how uncertain and irregular correspondence necessarily was. But he read the newspaper, had an extensive correspondence, and was duly and fully informed of all passing events. So well was he posted, that on returning he promptly and thoroughly became one of the people of the Province, imbued with all their pride and love of the region. He wrote to a friend in Europe the year after his arrival:

> The rapid increase of manufactures surpasses the expectations of the most sanguine American. Even the arts and sciences commence to flourish,

and in these, as in arms, the day, I hope, will come when America will be superior to all the world. Without prejudice or partiality, I do not believe the universe can show a finer country — so luxuriant in its soil; so happy in a healthy climate; so extensively watered by so many navigable rivers; and producing within itself not only all the necessaries, but even most of the superfluities of life.

CHAPTER VIII

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON IN THE CHARACTER OF THE "FIRST CITIZEN"

The spirit of discontent and resistance that pervaded all the colonies in response to the aggressions of Great Britain continued to grow stronger in Maryland. This feeling was so general and so pronounced that Burke was moved to remark of it "even the women think for themselves."

Charles Carroll of Carrollton was a most interested and earnest student of the situation. He attended every meeting, discussed conditions calmly with the neighbors, talked over matters with his father; and he read and digested every item of information that came from the other colonies. But he made no speeches, wrote no letters over his own signatures, and gave no advice in a public way. Just as he had equipped himself most fully in the science of government and with a knowledge of the principles on which such science is founded; so he determined to thoroughly understand and to be able forcibly to present every phase of the local difficulties and heavy burdens under which the people of this colony were struggling. Therefore, he listened, studied, read and watched as well as quietly helping in working out the problem of self-protection that confronted the people; but he took no public part. One of the wealthiest men in the Province and prospectively the wealthiest, his every word was heard with interest. His influence and power was not to be of gradual growth but was to burst upon the public with a suddenness as well as an ability and force that would sweep everything before it.

Two questions were deeply stirring the Maryland Province at that time, aside from the general matters that all the colonies were facing. These pertained to taxation in a local way by the authorities of the Province. One was an increase of the tithes by the established church and the other was the excessive, and in some cases illegal fees laid by the officers of the colony. In the first controversy Mr. Carroll took no part. Being a Catholic he thought it in better taste to pay his taxes and make no opposition. But the operation of excessive fees by the colonial officials he studied deeply. The legislative body consisted of the Assembly selected by the people and the Council appointed by the Governor. The Assembly attempted to pass a new law reducing these fees. This act was not concurred in by the Council, several of whose members were beneficiaries of these exorbitant fees. The old law had expired and while the excitement was at its highest the Governor dissolved the Assembly, took the matter of tithes and fees into his own hands and settled them by a proclamation. The people generally regarded this act as tyrannical and arbitrary in the extreme. But it was defended vigorously by the clique that had profited by the excessive fees in the past and expected to do so in the future. Among these were two members of the influential Dulany family, one the Attorney General and the other the Commissary General of the Province.

The Maryland Gazette published in Annapolis was the mouthpiece of all who had anything to say on a public question as well as the vehicle of news. Several communications had appeared denouncing the course of the Governor and his advisors and attracted no great notice. But there now appeared a defender of the Governor who was evidently a man of great ability, experience and learning. His letters were signed

Antillon and the first one which appeared January 7, 1773, attracted general attention. It was cogent, classic and most argumentative. It presented the case of the Governor in a light that almost staggered his opponents. The paper was in the form of a dialogue between the " First Citizen " and " Second Citizen " who discussed the issues. Each presented his view of the case, the First Citizen taking the side of the people and the Second Citizen the side of the Governor. The learned writer seemed to have won his cause for the Second Citizen by making out a case for the Governor that he deemed unanswerable.

Suddenly there appeared a new advocate in the case. A letter signed " The First Citizen " answered every phase of the question so ably and so lucidly that the whole Province was excited, pleased and expectant. Who could " The First Citizen " be? From Prince George's to Elk Landing and from Frederick to Somerset the question was asked and repeated. Antillon came back with a reply repeating his old arguments and infusing no little bitterness into the controversy. The details or the arguments would be of little interest and poorly understood at this late day. Then The First Citizen replied again. By this time it became known that Antillon was Attorney General Daniel Dulany, regarded as the ablest lawyer in the Province and as other letters appeared it was found out that the First Citizen was Charles Carroll of Carrollton, the learned and quiet young planter who had listened so carefully and said so little on public affairs during the eight years since his return to the colony. The victory, as The First Citizen, was overwhelming and was even more so because after the authorship became known Mr. Dulany tried to turn the tide by taunting Mr. Carroll with his religious beliefs.

A historian of that period says " young Mr. Carroll participated in the common feelings of indignation against the Stamp Act and contributed by his writings in opposition to the more subtle but not less dangerous taxation of commerce." But his discussion with the Attorney General as the " First Citizen " was the first occasion on which he was brought conspicuously into view in public transactions and he had now to deal with an able and experienced adversary, with whom victory was familiar and from whom defeat was not a disgrace. Mr. Dulany was his equal in education, his superior in age, experience and established reputation; more conversant with the various interests and institutions of the colony; more skilled in the profound researches and practical applications of his profession; and to give these advantages greater force, he was a Protestant and amongst the first in office and confidence under an exclusive Protestant government and amongst a Protestant people. Mr. Carroll was a Catholic of the disfranchised class, who, to the joint power of such weapons of attack, could oppose only the force of his cause, the resolute spirit and the acquirements of a cultivated mind; yet with such odds against him he entered the contest. In the letters of Mr. Dulany is seen the work of a powerful mind, confident of its own resources, indignant at opposition, contemptuous as if from conscious superiority, and yet sometimes affecting contempt as the cover under which to escape from principles not to be resisted.

In the letters of The First Citizen Mr. Dulany is constantly covered with the character of a prime minister of the Governor, prompting the measures in controversy, for his personal interest and aggrandizement at the expense of the people.

The letters appeared one in each issue of the paper and so important were they regarded that a letter

occupied nearly the entire space in the paper. They appeared in the various issues every two or three weeks from January 7 to July 1, 1773. On the date last mentioned Mr. Carroll dealt the final blow and the controversy was ended with the great Attorney General completely defeated and the quiet young planter as the successful champion of the people and the most popular man in the colony.

While this controversy was on, the elections for delegates to the Assembly were held and the results showed an overwhelming sentiment against the proclamation of the Governor and the position of Mr. Dulany. The First Citizen was given great credit for his aid in bringing about this result.

At these May elections all over the State the excitement was unprecedented. The people were already wrought up over the general questions that agitated all the colonies and to these were added the special interest in this election by reason of the attempt of their own officials to add to their burdens. " Down with the proclamation," " Bury the proclamation," " Overboard with the proclamation and all who defend it " were the cries in every county of the Province.

In Baltimore which had now become the most populous as well as the wealthiest of the counties, as soon as the election was over and the result announced they did bury the proclamation; not only figuratively but actually. This is the way the Baltimore correspondent of the Maryland Gazette tells of the incident:

> On the last day of our election, when the polls were closed, and Messrs. Riegely, Deye, Hall and Tolley were declared duly elected, a peal of applause, in three loud stanzas, burst from the multitude. Immediately from the crowd there issued a voice, as it were the voice of one raised

from the dead, which squeaked "no proclamation — hang, burn, bury the proclamation." A general murmur arose, which was very properly construed as an approbation of the proposal. As the new chosen delegates had just received the most obliging letters of advice and information by express from the great Annapolitan leaders; and that so arduous a business might be conducted, as similar to the grand original as it is permitted to humble imitators to approach; it was agreed, that the ceremony should be conducted, according to the directions in the aforesaid letter contained. Accordingly a speech, arraigning the proclamation, was pronounced by the orator of the day; it was resolved to be arbitrary and illegal, and it was adjudged to be hanged at the usual place of execution. About 4 o'clock P. M., the procession, "with solemn pace and step profound," began to move through the streets towards the gallows, accompanied with all the regalia of military interment (the firing of minute guns excepted), that is to say, colors properly labelled flying, drums beating, and fifes and fiddles playing. When the procession had arrived at the gallows, one of those unlucky accidents, which sometimes disconcert the best laid plans, had like to have spoiled all. In the hurry of preparations, they had forgot to bring the criminal along with them, or he had made his escape in the bustle. A hue and cry was raised, messengers were instantly dispatched in search of him, and a reward with the thanks of the representatives was offered for apprehending him; but in vain. It was then suspected that perhaps he might be concealed in the houses of some of the disaffected, a general search was therefore made; but all to no purpose. In this perplexing situation, it was observed by the sagacious, that perhaps the offender might have audaciously crept into the proceedings of the lower house. Upon examination this was found to be really the case, and the traitor was discovered where he had hid himself as the place of greatest safety, near the famous resolves themselves. He was instantly torn with

indignation from his hiding place, and dragged away to immediate execution. To do him justice, he submitted to his fate, with the utmost fairness of mind, and with a countenance which seemed to laugh to scorn the malice of his enemies, and the utmost efforts of his tormentors. After he had hung the usual time he was cut down, and, in humble imitation of the patriotic men of Frederick, he was laid with his face turned downwards, in token of his immediate descent into hell, from whence he originated, and as a means of his never rising again into judgment, he was then put into a coffin for that purpose provided, and " laid low in his narrow house," amidst the approving yells of the spectators of all kinds, and of every complexion and occupation. But a phenomenon ominous indeed, and truly distressing to every genuine patriot who attended the execution, now presented itself to their astonished view. As the malefactor descended to the place " where the weary are at rest," something was observed to adhere close to his back, still showing signs of life, and seeming to pursue and persecute him in his grave. It could not at first be conceived what being was capable of carrying its virulence such lengths, till a deep groan ascended from the pit, and a voice was heard to say, with lamentations — " Do not, we beseech you, bury us alive; we are your friends — the resolves of the Lower House." It was then discovered, but alas too late, that the resolves had stood on the other side of the page from whence the proclamation was torn, and by the most unfortunate circumstance, were now irrecoverably involved in the same undistinguished ruin. Their cries grew fainter and fainter, till they were heard no more; and they now sleep (peace be to their ashes) undisturbed and undisturbing.

When this transaction, so illustrious in the eyes of Maryland, was finished, the same motley group which attended the execution, requested the new chosen delegates " to testify their thanks to The

First Citizen, for his spirited, eloquent and patriotic opposition to the proclamation while alive.

Elections in those times took three days and there was but one polling place in each county. The result of the elections carried such an endorsement for " The First Citizen " whose identity had now becomes known all over the colony that his praises were everywhere heard and thanks poured in on him in letters, in newspaper communications and in person. Anne Arundel County presented him with this address:

"Ann Arundel County, May 26th, 1773.

" To the First Citizen.

" Sir — The freemen of Anne Arundel County, on the day of our election, gave us in charge to return you their thanks, for your nervy and mastery defense of the constitution, against the late illegal, arbitrary and oppressive proclamation; an exertion of prerogative which in a land of freedom will not, must not, be endured. Be assured, sir, it gives us the sincerest joy to see your merit so generally understood and so frankly acknowledged, by men who must be confessed to have nothing in view but the general good; and we gladly execute the commands of our constituents, in this publicly returning you their thanks, for your spirited and distinguished opposition to the proclamation.

" We are, Sir, with great respect, your most obedient servants,

" BRICE T. B. WORTHINGTON,
" THOMAS JOHNSON, JR.,
" SAMUEL CHASE,
" JOHN HALL."

The two delegates elected, William Paca and Matthew Hammond, also presented him an address of congratulation and thanks.

Frederick County in which his Manor of Carrollton was located and Baltimore County also sent committees of citizens to read addresses of thanks to him.

After the election, the endorsement and praise of The First Citizen were so general that Attorney General Dulany relapsed into coarse and vindictive taunts, trying to prejudice the people against him on account of his religion. But it was too late for this; Mr. Carroll was The First Citizen in truth and in fact as well as in the columns of the newspaper. This extract is from the last letter, the one that proved to be the knock-out blow to the Attorney General.

> I am as averse to having a religion chammed down people's throats, as a proclamation. These are my political principles, in which I glory; principles not hastily taken up to serve a turn, but which I have always avowed since I became capable of reflection. I bear not the least dislike to the Church of England, though I am not within her pale, nor indeed to any other church; knaves and bigots, of all sects and denominations, I hate and I despise.
>
> " For modes of faith let zealous bigots fight,
> His can't be wrong, whose life is in the right."—*Pope.*
>
> Papists are distrusted by the laws, and laid under disabilities. They cannot, I know, (ignorant as I am), enjoy any place of profit or trust while they continue Papists; but do these disabilities extend so far as to preclude them from thinking and writing on matters merely of a political nature? Antillon would make a most excellent inquisitor, he has given some striking specimens of an arbitrary temper; the first requisite — He will not allow me freedom of thought or speech. . . . To what purpose was this threat thrown out, of enforcing the penal statutes by proclamation? Why am I told that my conduct is very inconsistent with the situation of one, who " owes even the toleration he enjoys to the favor of the government? " If, by instilling prejudices into the governor, and against certain religionists, and

> thus bring on a persecution, it will then be known whether the toleration I enjoy be due to the favor of government or not. That you have talents admirably well adapted to stoop to the basest, is too true. A particular detail of all your mean and dirty tricks would swell this paper (already too long) to the size of a volume. I may on some future occasion entertain the public with Antillon's cheats.

From this time on, Charles Carroll of Carrollton was a leading spirit in the Province of Maryland. He attended meetings, made addresses, wrote letters, advanced money wherever he could to promote the cause of the Colonies and the Province of Maryland in particular.

Interior of the Chapel at Doughoregan Manor

CHAPTER IX

RUMBLINGS OF COLONIAL DISCONTENT — THE CASE OF THE PEGGY STEWART

At this time the Province of Maryland was in a position entirely different from that of any of the other colonies. Frederick, Lord Baltimore, had died without legitimate issue. Henry Harford, an illegitimate son, had set up a claim to the proprietorship under a will. This claim was contested by Mrs. Browning, the sister of Charles, the father of Frederick. This contested case was in the Chancery Court of London and its outcome would not be important if the colonies became independent of Great Britain. Governor Eden who caused all the trouble by settling the fee bill by a proclamation was a brother-in-law of the deceased Lord Baltimore and an executor under Frederick's will. This general mix up in Maryland complicated things far beyond the ordinary condition in other colonies. Under the charter of Maryland the Crown had relinquished the right to tax the Province and this raised, in this colony, some entirely new and different problems.

Mr. Carroll understood these questions in all their ramifications and understood them as few men in the colonies did understand them. He had resided in London so long that he knew the temper of the authorities, and knew well all the desperate straits to which they would go. He saw that the resistance of the people in the end must be by force. Associations had been formed in most of the colonies to oppose the import of goods from the mother country. All fine clothes were dispensed with and men like Mr. Carroll and his father appeared dressed in homespun. Tea upon which the

duty had been retained was to be refused and was denied the right of being landed at any port in the Province. In fact so determined were the colonists not to buy from the mother country that trade almost ceased.

The excitement of the Stamp Act had passed all the more quietly in Maryland by reason of the overshadowing issues of her own local affairs; but in 1773 the duty on tea caused a new irritation and came at a time when the people were in a temper to resist. Indignation meetings were held, communications were sent to, and came from the other colonies and men like Mr. Carroll plainly saw what the end was sure to be.

Charles Carroll of Carrollton had been educated on lines to fit him especially for the consideration of the questions now before the people. His father had inoculated him with a love of liberty in the sense described by the most advanced thinkers of that day. Among the books which Perkins of London was directed to send him at La Grande, were the works of Hooker, Locke, Burlaymaque and Becaria; the two latter Italian writers. Hooker who lived during that period of physical and mental activity from 1553 to 1600 was the father of the idea that the power of government rests alone on the consent of the governed. The others all followed up and elaborated this idea and Locke clothed it with that brilliancy and attractiveness that set Europe ablaze with thoughts of liberty and political equality.

The colonists had been so successful in subduing the forces of the new world, and the yoke of Great Britain sat so lightly on them, that they were ready and eager for the exploitation of a philosophy that guaranteed to them entire freedom. They had been growing stronger, growing more independent and becoming more united in action and purpose during the years that Great

Britain had been kept too busy with France to pay much attention to them.

Mr. Carroll was able to talk to the people not only of their special grievances but he was able to instruct them also in the deeper and more subtle science of government on which they were to build a new structure of liberty, equality and justice. He showed that as they had no part in selecting the English Parliament, the English Parliament should have no part in governing and taxing them. This was a proposition so simple that the most illiterate could understand it, and cheer for it; and Mr. Carroll with his great learning had the power to a remarkable degree of using simple language and making himself clear to the plain people.

Meetings of indignation and meetings for defense and protection were now of frequent occurrence. The Non-Importation Association was permanently organized and received the support of nearly all citizens; and this association was broadened in its scope and became the nucleus of the general organization in behalf of the patriot cause. Charles Carroll of Carrollton was now a constant worker, and in all things had the hearty endorsement and coöperation of his father. His advice was sought, given and followed on many occasions. He became the warm friend, and trusted confident of Samuel Chase, William Paca, John Hall and other leaders.

In November, Charles Carroll of Carrollton was named as one of a committee of forty-four to see that the resolution of Congress against imports was carried out. He was also named as one of a committee of four on correspondence for the city and county, his associates in this work being Samuel Chase, Wm. Paca and Thos. Johnson who with the representatives of the other counties were to take charge of the affairs of the Province. It was resolved that the

members of the previous assembly together with Charles Carroll of Carrollton should attend the next provincial meeting and have full power to represent the city and county. Mr. Carroll attended this convention thus starting on that brilliant career that has had few if any equals, in our politics.

In the tangled state of affairs of the Province, growing out of the complex question of whether or not there was a Lord Proprietor and if so who he was, this convention became the authoritative body of the colony.

Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Chas. Carroll, barrister, Thomas Johnson and Samuel Chase, represented Anne Arundel County in the Council of Safety composed of ten leading citizens of the Province which met in 1775 in Chestertown on the eastern shore. This Council of Safety was the most important body that had been constituted in the Province and all looked to it for protection and guidance. The spirit of revolt was strengthened by every communication from the other colonies. The news of the Boston resistance to the landing of the taxed tea had met a cordial indorsement here but in spite of this and of the fact that Maryland had driven from her shores three cargoes of taxed tea as early as 1769 the brig Peggy Stewart arrived Oct. 15, 1774, with 2,320 pounds of tea. Mr. Anthony Stewart, a resident of Annapolis, a highly respected and wealthy citizen, and a member of the Non-Importers Association owned the brig. Mr. Stewart had paid the duty on this small amount of the "detested weed" to prevent detention of the vessel. The people were disgusted and felt insulted at this act of submission to the will of the English Parliament. A public meeting was called, resolutions passed denunciatory of Mr. Stewart and Williams the consignee. Both Mr. Stewart and the two Williams brothers apologized and agreed to burn the tea.

But the indignation was so great that upon the matter being referred to Charles Carroll of Carrollton he decided that vessel and tea be burned, and with his own hand Mr. Stewart set fire to the brig and she burned to the water's edge in presence of the infuriated crowd.

Another serious grievance of the colonies was the navigation laws. Great Britain had so managed things that the colonies had to do their trading with the mother country. Why should her colonies enrich the merchants of Spain, Holland or Portugal? She had goods to sell and money to spend, so trade with England. All the laws were framed with this idea in mind. The laws provided that no sugar, tobacco, cotton, indigo, ginger or dye woods should be carried to any ports but those of England. These became known as the "enumerated articles." They must be sold only to English merchants who in turn would sell to the merchants of other countries. In this way England was building up her trade with the whole world and the colonists felt that she was doing much of it at their expense. Articles from Holland, Spain, France or other countries than England must not be brought into the colonies. Such as were brought had to be smuggled in. Smuggling was a very respectable and highly profitable line of work as long as it was possible to escape the authorities. Charles Carroll of Carrollton had studied the odious Navigation Laws and was familiar with every phase of their oppressive provisions. He could explain all their intricacies and injustices, and could do it in a way that every merchant and every laborer would understand.

CHAPTER X

MEETING AND WORK OF THE FIRST CONTINENTAL CONGRESS

In the Spring of 1774 the correspondence among the various committees of the colonies resulted in an arrangement for holding a Continental Congress. Each colony was to send representatives; just how many were to be sent and how they were to be selected was left to the colony itself. Connecticut being a wholly patriot colony took the lead and on the 13th of June authorized its Committee of Correspondence to select suitable persons.

Others followed quickly and by the middle of August all the colonies except Georgia, Florida and Canada had selected delegates.

The Connecticut delegates being the first named, suggested to the others that Philadelphia be the place of meeting and the word was passed around in the correspondence that the Congress meet in Philadelphia on the 5th of September.

Charles Carroll of Carrollton was on the committee that selected the delegates from Maryland, but did not permit himself to be made a delegate, promising to go there any way and assist by his advice and presence. He was already occupying so many places of public trust that he doubtless felt that he could not satisfactorily fill these, and at the same time serve as a member of Congress.

Philadelphia was the metropolis of the continent; a populous and beautiful city scattered along the Delaware River for the distance of a mile; its white houses with green shutters presenting a pretty and impressive sight.

A day or two before the date for the meeting, delegates began to arrive. The Pennsylvania members had arranged that the Congress was to meet in Carpenter's Hall and that the members were to have the use of the library which occupied a room in that building.

The Maryland delegates reached the city the night before the meeting and Charles Carroll of Carrollton rode over later in the week. There was pretty thorough unanimity of opinion, as the Congress was made up entirely of those who resented the action of the British Parliament and favored resisting it. In each colony the political division was into two parties, Loyalists and Patriots. The former stood for English rule and for submission to the acts of Parliament. This party had no representation in the Congress which was really a kind of party convention.

Mr. Carroll on the day of his arrival in Philadelphia was introduced to John Adams who entered in his diary the fact of being introduced to " one Mr. Carroll of Maryland, a Roman Catholic but an ardent patriot and a man of one of the very first fortunes in the colonies."

There was much conferring, discussing and comparing views; the great question being, " can we go as far as the Massachusetts delegates desire? " In that colony Gen. Gage, the British Commander, had dissolved the Assembly and forbidden town meetings. The people of Suffolk County in which Boston is located had called a county meeting which had taken most drastic action under the guidance of Samuel Adams. This county meeting had passed the famous Suffolk resolutions that actually instituted a new and independent government for the colony. The resolutions called upon the people not to recognize the courts or the officers and to have nothing to do with the colonial

government that acknowledged the authority of Parliament. Tax collectors were advised to pay no money to the government under Gen. Gage and people were urged not to go to law to settle their disputes. The patriots were advised to form military companies, to drill and prepare for defense; but to commit no overt act. Samuel Adams and John Adams were at the Congress as part of the Massachusetts delegation, to urge an indorsement of the Suffolk movement.

Charles Carroll of Carollton evidently was with John and Samuel Adams in support of the Massachusetts idea. There is no record of this, but it is indicated by his affiliations in Philadelphia, and by the position of the Maryland delegates who were doubtless influenced by him. He was constantly pointed to as a man of great wealth who was not afraid of the risk of defying England.

The Congress held its session in private and no record was made of the details of its doings. Now and then something of the proceedings would leak out, but generally the stand taken by any individual member was not known.

It did transpire, however, that the Massachusetts idea had been practically indorsed and that a resolution to that effect had been sent to Boston by Paul Revere, the silversmith, who was waiting to ride with the news to his people.

Mr. J. H. B. Latrobe, who had it directly from Mr. Carroll, explained an important and hasty visit which Charles Carroll of Carrollton paid to Philadelphia during the sitting of the first Continental Congress. This visit was made at the urgent invitation of Judge Chase of the Maryland delegation.

After the Massachusetts idea had been practically indorsed and the radicals had been assured full sway,

Mr. Galloway, a very influential member introduced an entirely new plan. This was the establishment of a Parliament of the united colonies to meet annually in Philadelphia and to pass on all acts of the English Parliament that affected the colonies in any way. The men of Mr. Carroll's way of thinking considered any such step as mere temporizing, and as giving the English Parliament something to talk about while the ardor of the colonies cooled down. The men who opposed it did not believe it would be accepted by the English Parliament, but believed it would be used to divert the attention of the people from the real purpose in view, which was to settle for all time whether or not the colonies were to be permitted to manage their own affairs in their own way, or were to be kept under the rule of an arbitrary English Parliament with the election of whose members they had no part.

Mr. Carroll was right with Samuel Adams, John Adams and the men of that stamp in vigorously opposing this measure which they regarded as looking to nothing and promising nothing. When a vote on it was reached, it was badly beaten and all record of it expunged from the proceedings. This action caused a wild protest from the Loyalists who professed to see in it a determination of the Congress not to meet the questions fairly, but to set up a new government whether the people wanted it or not. They secured a copy of Mr. Galloway's plan, had it printed and copies distributed saying it proved that the Congress had dropped the veil of hypocrisy and shown itself in the true light of a body of men working for absolute separation from England. Mr. Carroll wrote a reply to this pamphlet which was circulated by the patriots. He was not yet a member of the Congress but was one

of the most influential of the men who had to do with its affairs.

Having disposed of the Galloway plan and fully determined on the manner of procedure nothing was now left but to put the determination of the Congress in shape. This was done in a series of papers to be submitted to the British Government.

First was the Declaration of Rights which was an ultimatum for Parliament to accept and have the friendship of the colonies or reject and take the consequences. It was so broad in its demands that it appeared to practically abolish the colonial system of England. But it was what the colonists had resolved to demand and stand by. It is pretty sure that Charles Carroll of Carrollton urged his people to submit to no modification.

Four documents in all were agreed to and prepared so as to be sent to Parliament. The last was a petition to the King. This pointed out that while Parliament was repudiated, loyalty to the King was affirmed. Another was an address to the people of Canada. These papers were prepared in five copies each; and each set of five forwarded to London by a different conveyance. This was to avoid the possibility of accident. Then with the ultimatum and other documents off for England the Congress adjourned to May, 1776.

In those days, as at the present time, great events had to be wound up and emphasized by a banquet. So the citizens of Philadelphia prepared a great banquet to the members of the first Continental Congress—the greatest banquet that had been given on the continent up to that time. Five hundred plates were laid and the tables were laden with all the good things to eat and to drink that this land and that age could boast. Thirty-two formal toasts were drunk and

responded to, and after each toast there was firing of cannon on the green. And this banquet with its cheers, its splendor, its speeches and the firing of cannon was the wind up of this memorable session. Through the speeches ran a vein of hopefulness and of loyalty to the King, mingled with denunciation of the Parliament. The last toast was the hope that a happy reconciliation would be reached between Great Britain and the colonies.

The banquet which ended the Congress was a great affair and it is recorded that it took the delegates two or three days to " rest up," before starting for home. Neither Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Benjamin Franklin nor Thomas Jefferson were members of the first Continental Congress.

The delegates went to their homes to await the result of their work. The more sanguine believed that England would grant all the demands and that the meeting next May would be a kind of jubilee and a ratification of their previous acts. These expected that the united colonies would then formulate regulations for their mutual benefit, and that they would at once come into that measure of liberty and independance for which they had been so earnestly at work. There was nothing left but to wait for the reception of the papers, and in those days it was a long wait; for not much news got back to the colonies till the next Spring.

Though the copies of the papers for England were sent by five different ships all of the five encountered the same series of gales and all were driven back, causing considerable delay. It was well in November before they got started and late in December before the first one reached England. Parliament had adjourned for the Christmas recess; but the news of the ultimatum and accompanying papers caused much

discussion, a great deal of denunciation and ridicule, together with a little commendation.

Some letters told of how the Whigs in England read and commended the spirit and force of the papers, how some Tories ridiculed and denounced them, how some Englishmen called the members of Congress traitors and how others thought them merely fools; but nothing of an authentic or official nature was received.

From the inception of the struggle against the mother country Charles Carroll of Carrollton felt sure that the effect would be war first and independence as a result of the war. With that idea firmly in his mind, he had his committees go right on with their work of preparation.

Just before the proceedings of the first American Congress reached Great Britain the King suddenly dissolved Parliament, and issued writs for a general election. It was a move of peculiarly shrewd "politics," for the Ministry had every reason to believe that the proceedings of Congress would be conciliatory, tending to allay the heat of the English public against the colonies; and by thus prematurely forcing a new election while the public was still excited against America; it was hoped that the Government majority would be increased — a theory which proved eminently successful in practice. When the proceedings of the Congress was transmitted to Parliament, they came before men prepared to give them no heed, and were referred, with a great mass of other papers, to a committee which Edmund Burke happily styled "the Committee of Oblivion." Franklin, who was then in London, drew up what he termed an "anecdote" of the King's speech for the meeting of this Parliament. It afforded great amusement to the friends of America, but didn't get into print. This

is what the ever-humorous Franklin thought the King should say in his address to parliament:

> My Lords and Gentlemen, It gives me much concern that I am obliged at the opening of this Parliament to inform you that none of the measures adopted by the last Parliament in respect to the disturbances of my American colonies have produced those salutary effects, which relying upon the supposed wisdom of their deliberations I had been induced to expect. I therefore sent that Parliament, a packing rather abruptly, and have called you in their place to pick a little advice out of your wise heads upon some matters of the greatest weight and importance relating to a sort of Crusade that I have upon my hands. I must needs tell you that the business if you chuse to undertake it for me, will be a seven or ten years job at least. You must know then that my ministers have put me upon a project to undertake the reduction of the whole continent of North America to unconditional submission. They have persuanded me to coax you into this project by representing it to you as a matter to be done in a twinkling, and to make you believe that my subjects in America whom you have always hitherto considered as brave men, are no better than a wretched pack of cowardly run-a-ways, and that 500 men with whips will make them all dance to the tune of Yankee Doodle; but I will tell you no such thing because I am very sure if you meddle with it that you will find it a very different sort of business.
>
> Now, Gentlemen of the House of Commons, I give you this fair notice for yourselves and your Constituents. If you undertake this job it will cost you at the least farthing a good round sum of forty or fifty millions; forty or fifty thousands of your Constituents will get knocked on the head and then you are to consider what the rest of you will be gainers by the bargain even if you succeed. The trade of a ruined and desolated

country is always inconsiderable, its revenue trifling; the expense of subjecting and retaining it in subjection, should that connexion which we wish most ardently to maintain be dissolved, should my Ministers exhaust your treasures and waste the blood of your Country men in vain will they not deliver you weak and defenceless to your natural enemies?

You must know this is not the first time that the Serpent has been whispering into my ear, Tax America. Cost what it will, make them your hewers of wood and drawers of water. Let them feel that your little finger is thicker than the loins of all your ancestors. But I was wiser than all that. I sent to Lord Rockingham and the advice that he gave me was this, not to burn my fingers in the business. That it was ten to one against our making any hand of it at all, that they were not worth shearing and at best that we should raise a cursed outcry and get but little wool. I shall remember his last advice to me as long as I live. Speak good words to them and they will be thy Servants forever.

And now my Lords and Gentlemen, I have stated the whole matter fairly and squarely before you. It is your own business and if you are not content as you are, look to the rest for yourselves. But if I were to give you a word of advice it should be to remind you of the Italian Epitaph upon a poor fool that killed himself with quacking "I was well, I would be better, I took Physick and died."

No one could prove who produced this humorous speech but it was so like the act of Franklin that all familiar with affairs felt well assured.

Copies reached this country and the reading of them was much enjoyed. When a copy was handed to Mr. Carroll he read it carefully and smilingly said:

"What a man! Nothing is serious enough to suppress the humor that bubbles up in Franklin."

CHAPTER XI

NEWS FROM ENGLAND — TRIP OF THE COMMISSIONERS TO CANADA

Arriving home from Philadelphia in the late Fall and quickly resuming his duties on the Committee of Safety, the Committee of Correspondence and the other committees connected with his patriotic duties, Charles Carroll of Carrollton was frequently asked by his neighbors what he thought would be the reply to the papers sent by the Continental Congress to the British ministry. His answer invariably was:

> "The papers will have no effect whatever. The King, Parliament and English people are against making any concession to the colonies."
>
> "But the speeches of Burke, Barie and Lord Chatham?"
>
> "They indicate nothing whatever. They represent only the Whig minority that has no influence with the government or with the people. Their splendid efforts rather hinder than help our cause. Whatever we get we must fight for. Our people should clearly understand that."

From Philadelphia he came directly to Annapolis where he met his father and together they went over the situation carefully and weighed the cost and the risks fully.

Christmas arrived with no news from London. Christmas in Maryland has always meant the entire week from Christmas Eve to New Year. Charles Carroll of Carrollton spent the first part of Christmas at Doughoregon Manor and rode to Baltimore where he met many public men and fully discussed the crisis through which the colonies were passing. He

tried on every occasion to dispel the illusion which most people held, that Parliament would seek to reconcile the colonies, and would pass some measures of a conciliatory nature. He neither hoped for, nor had any expectation of such a result. He was in England at the time of the Stamp Act agitation, and was too familiar with the temper of the people to fail in a complete understanding of the conditions at this time. That Charles Carroll of Annapolis was in thorough accord with his son is shown by some letters written by him from the Manor to Charles Carroll of Carrollton in Annapolis telling of the arrival of gun powder and the progress of the saltpetre works. There is nothing in any of these letters to indicate a hope of peace. Everything referred to preparations for war.

In September 1775 Charles Carroll of Carrollton wrote to Gen. Washington introducing Mr. Key. Washington had been on intimate terms with the Carrolls since some time before the return of the younger Carroll from Europe. The intimacy doubtless began in connection with the Clinton Iron Works in Virginia with which Mr. Carroll had some connection. It is of record that Washington frequently rode up to Annapolis to attend the races, go to the play and enjoy the all around good times of hospitable Annapolis. In those days Annapolis had the reputation of being the social and hilarious center of colonial life. Baltimore was fast rising as a business and manufacturing point, but Baltimore was too busy and business like to vie with Annapolis as a social or political center.

News from England as to what the government had done was anxiously awaited by most people, and many could hardly understand the certainty with which the Carrolls looked on the situation. The father fully

shared the view of the young man that there was no hope of a reconciliation with the mother country.

The state of uncertainty in the colonies continued till April. The trip over was a long one at best and the heavy storms of early Spring had caused unusual delays. But early in April a brig arrived bringing English papers. These told that the "ultimatum" the petition to the King, and every proposition of the Continental Congress had been rejected by the Parliament and everywhere ridiculed and denounced by the people.

Instead of conceding anything, Parliament had met the demands by passing a series of laws more drastic and more oppressive than any heretofore even suggested.

The Boston port bill was affirmed. The colonists were prohibited from buying or selling to one another.

The colonists were denied all rights to the fishing grounds.

These and several other measures equally severe were passed by a two-thirds majority. In addition to all this, appropriations were made for paying the expense of an army of 10,000 men to be sent to the colonies for their subjugation at once.

Maryland's peculiar relations were so far practically unchanged. Governor Eden continued to pose as Governor, rather than act in that capacity. The convention which had possessed itself of all authority in the Province rather encouraged him to call himself the Governor, to hold receptions and give dances, but allowed him no authority whatever. The Province recognized neither the Crown, the Henry Harford claim nor the claim of the legitimate heirs of the deceased Lord Proprietor. To all intents and purposes Maryland was an independent Province.

Just before Christmas and when many of the people

were still expecting a favorable outcome of the communications to London the Committee of Safety consisting of ten members from the Western Shore and ten from Eastern shore met at Chestertown. Both Charles Carroll of Carrollton and Charles Carroll, barrister were present. The committee went right on preparing for the struggle as if they knew that Britain would make no concessions.

The most important action was the appointment of a committee of five, with Charles Carroll of Carrollton as chairman " to devise ways and means for the manufacture of salt petre."

The Committee of Safety reconvened on the 1st of January when the Carroll sub-committee on salt petre reported an elaborate plan for erecting salt petre works in every county with a central refining plant where the product would be made into gun powder. Two other sub-committees were named one for providing clothes and food for the Maryland troops, and the other on instructions to the members of Congress. Though Charles Carroll of Carrollton was chairman of this last committee he was out voted and a resolution was carried instructing the delegates to disavow all designs of the colonies for independence. After some other resolutions for the regulation of the government were passed the convention adjourned and on the same day January 18th the Council of Safety convened.

The need of coin for the Canadian campaign was shown to be so urgent that a committee was appointed in each county to collect all the gold and silver coin that could be secured and to forward it for that purpose. Charles Carroll of Carrollton was appointed to collect in Anne Arundel County and he proved the most successful of all the collectors. Probably because

he had his father and himself as liberal contributors. His collection amounted to 120£.

About this time the British Man-of-War Otter appeared in the Chesapeake Bay greatly to the alarm of the people in the marine towns. Charles Carroll of Carrollton wrote to Col. Thos. Dorsey of the Elk Ridge Militia March 8th instructing him to march all the companies he had, that were well armed to the defense of Baltimore, as that place seemed in danger of immediate attack. He said this was the sense of the Committee on Observation and the order would be confirmed by the Committee of Safety.

About this time the announcement was made that Charles Carroll of Carrollton had been selected as one of the commissioners to represent the Congress in Canada. The other two commissioners were Samuel Chase and Benjamin Franklin. In mentioning the personnel of this commission, John Adams says "the characters of the two first you know. The last is not a member of Congress, but a gentleman of independent fortune, perhaps the largest in America — a hundred and fifty or two hundred thousand pounds Sterling; educated in some university in France; though a native of America; of great abilities and learning, complete master of the French language and a professor of the Roman Catholic Religion; yet a warm, a firm, a zealous supporter of the rights of America in whose cause he has hazarded his all."

His friend, Chase, had undoubtedly been instrumental in having Mr. Carroll selected because of his great executive ability and because of his knowledge of the French language and his influence with the French Catholics of Canada. Almost the entire population of Canada at that time was Catholic. The American expedition to Canada following the capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point was not in an

encouraging condition and it was hoped that a tactful effort by a commission like this might be helpful to our cause. Mr. Carroll was requested to invite his Cousin John Carroll a Catholic priest of great learning and influence to accompany the commission. The year before parliament had passed what was known as the Quebec bill. This was a measure guaranteeing religious liberty and considerable economic liberty and advantage to the French Canadians. As newly acquired subjects it was thought expedient to treat them well and so Great Britain had given them many rights which had been constantly denied to the older colonies. This was one of the grievances of the Continental Congress and the treatment of this subject had been one of the matters that called Charles Carroll of Carrollton to Philadelphia. The Congress on the one hand having denounced Parliament for treating the Canadians so well; found it a little awkward, on the other to make the effort to convince them that they had been treated so badly that they should break away from their new allegiance and go with the American colonies. This was one of the tasks entrusted to the commission. In addition to this the condition of the American troops was reported as very serious. General Montgomery had been killed and Arnold badly wounded. The troops were so poorly fed that they had become troublesome and expensive in their raids on the people. All in all, they were hungry, badly clothed and discouraged when the small pox broke out and made terrible ravages amongst them. It was under these conditions that the commission met in Philadelphia and started for Canada by way of New York, the Hudson River and the Lakes George and Champlain to Montreal. The commissioners accompanied by Rev. John Carroll, afterwards the first Roman Catholic Bishop in America, met in

New York and started north on a sloop April 2nd. The distance from New York to Montreal is about three hundred miles on a straight line by river from New York to Albany, thence by wagon and through Lake George and Lake Champlain to the Canadian line a few miles from Montreal. They had bad weather, but good winds and most of the time the party kept on deck and viewed the beautiful scenery of the Hudson. They reached Albany in three days and were met by Gen. Schuyler who came from his house about a mile from Albany and took the party to dine with him. Mr. Carroll thinks Albany larger than Annapolis but finds that the people mostly speak Dutch. From Albany they go north in a wagon accompanied by Gen. and Mrs. Schuyler, their two daughters and Gen. Thomas. Generals Thomas and Schuyler were two of the commanders of the American troops in the north. By evening the party reach Saratoga Springs where Gen. Schuyler entertains them at his country seat. This is only thirty-two miles from Albany but the roads were heavy.

In that early day a man of Mr. Carroll's keen observation was impressed with the necessity of an all water route from New York to Quebec and he even figured on the cost of cutting a canal from the Hudson River to Lake George. Mr. Carroll and the rest of his party started on the 16th, "parting with the amiable family of General Schuyler with regret." They breakfasted with Col. Allen at Fort Edward on the 17th and drank tea on the shore of Montcalm Bay on the 18th. Reaching the south end of Lake George, Mr. Carroll visited the saw mill, viewed the spot where Lord Howe was killed and the next day went over to Ticonderoga. Then they passed on north and up Lake Champlain in the bateaux that was to take them to St. Johns. They reached Crown Point in the afternoon and slept

at a farm house there. On the way north they frequently stopped at the farm houses and enjoyed the good meals the families could furnish. They brought four beds all the way from Philadelphia and usually slept in them. But reaching the north end of their boat trip, they spent one day and night at the house of Col. Hazen and the next day crossed to St. Johns where carriages and carts met them and they were taken eighteen miles to La Prairie and across to Montreal.

They were received by Gen. Arnold and some of the city's leading people were on hand to welcome them. Then they were quartered in the house of Mr. Thomas Walker described as perhaps the best built and the best furnished house in town.

In his diary, Mr. Carroll tells of the cordial reception by Gen. Arnold, of the entertainments by the people and of receiving and making visits which occupied the next day.

The day following the commissioners made their first report to the president of the Congress, telling the need of specie, of more troops and of the wretched condition of those in Canada. They say "it is impossible to give you a just idea of the lowness of the Continental credit here and the want of hard money; and the prejudice it is to our affairs." The commissioners had full authority to do what ever they thought best; to supervise the military, change officers, treat with the Indians, order fortifications, etc. They held a meeting in which all the officers were given a hearing. It was determined to ask Congress for £20,000 in specie to pay the debts already incurred and to form a fund for taking up continental bills.

They found that there was a great change of sentiment against the colonies, caused by the want of money which had forced the commanders to do many

arbitrary things which the Canadians resented. The commissioners advised that the Americans evacuate Canada and fortify the places on the lakes. They also report that after conferences with the Indians they were assured of the neutrality of the latter during this contest.

After further informing Congress of the deplorable state of affairs; made worse by the rigid spread of small pox among the troops, the commissioners express the belief that " it will not be in our power to render our country any further service in this colony."

Before going south, Mr. Chase and Mr. Carroll wrote fully to Congress of the deplorable conditions and made some further suggestions. The party arrived in Canada, April 29th, and remained there till May 11th. On that date they visited Fort Chamblay. Dr. Franklin left for home as the hardships of the trip were telling severely on him. At this time they write Congress, " your Generals are now obliged to be contractors and commissioners, and your commissioners, who have neither ability nor inclination are compelled to be Generals."

On May 27th they sum up by saying, " we cannot find words strong enough to describe our miserable situation; you will have a faint idea of it if you will figure to yourself an army broken and disheartened, half of it under innoculation, or under other diseases; soldiers without pay, without dicipline, and altogether reduced to live from hand to mouth, depending on the scanty and precarious supplies of a few half starved cattle, and trifling quantities of flour picked up in different parts of the country."

After some further recommendations to Congress they went to St. Johns and made a visit to General

Sullivan who had just arrived there with fourteen hundred men. They then sailed on their return trip.

Rev. John Carroll had returned with Dr. Franklin.

Mr. Carroll and Mr. Chase accompanied by Gen. Schuyler who met them, continued their way south. At Saratoga they regretted not seeing the amiable family of Gen. Schuyler. They were joined at Saratoga by their servants and their luggage and continued the trip to Albany, thence to New York on a sloop that awaited them.

In New York they reported to Gen. Washington and also saw Generals Gates and Putnam. Gen. Washington's barge took them around Staten Island to Elizabethtown. They reached Philadelphia by boat in the night of June 10th. After Mr. Chase and Mr. Carroll had left, Gen. Washington wrote to the President of Congress of his seeing them and of the report they would make.

The journal of Congress merely mentions that the commissioners made their report. Mr. Carroll remained a few days in Philadelphia attending as a spectator the sessions of Congress. While there he wrote to Gen. Gates a long but frank and explicit letter giving his views of the conditions and requirements in Canada. It was believed that Gates would be given command of the armies of the north.

The trip of the eminent commissioners was really more successful than is indicated by a record of their work. A strong impression in our favor was made especially on the people of the province of Quebec and it is believed that they would have cast their lot with our colonies but for some foolish and untactful letters written by John Jay at a critical junction in their affairs. Mr. Jay bitterly attacked the people of Canada on account of their religion and settled the matter against us.

CHAPTER XII

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE — THE NEW CONSTITUTION FOR MARYLAND

On the return of Charles Carroll of Carrollton from his trip to Canada he found that the Maryland Convention had been in session since May 8th and that it had passed the following resolution of instructions to the Maryland delegates in Congress:

> Resolved that as this Convention is firmly persuaded that a reunion with Great Britain on Constitutional principles would most effectually secure the rights and liberties, and increase the strength and promote the happiness of the whole empire, objects which this Province hath ever had in view, the said deputies are bound and directed to govern themselves by the instructions in its session of December last in the same manner as if said instructions were herein repeated.

Both Charles Carroll of Carrollton and Samuel Chase were absent in Canada when this resolution was passed and both were chagrined and dismayed on learning of it.

Thomas Johnson and Charles Carroll, barrister, had represented Anne Arundel County in the convention during the absence of the other two members in Canada. Though both of these delegates were opposed to the resolution they were not able to prevent its passage.

A new convention however, met on the 21st of June. Three of the Anne Arundel delegates were present including Mr. Chase, but Charles Carroll of Carrollton did not attend till the 24th, being detained by his duties on the Council of Safety. On the 28th the

previous instructions were revoked by the passage of this resolution.

> Resolved, that the instructions given by the convention of December last (and renewed by the convention in May) to the deputies of this colony in Congress be recalled and the restrictions therein contained removed; that the deputies of this colony attending in Congress, or a majority of them or any three or more of them, be authorized and empowered to concur with the other united colonies, or a majority of them in declaring the united colonies free and independent states, provided the sole and exclusive right of regulations of the internal government and policy of this colony be reserved to the people thereof.

A resolution was then adopted providing for a convention to frame a new Constitution for Maryland and on the fourth of July delegates were elected to represent the colony in Congress. Matthew Tilghman, Thomas Johnson, Wm. Paca, Samuel Chase, Thomas Stone and Charles Carroll of Carrollton were elected.

The convention adjourned on the 6th after issuing an address to the people of the Province reciting the wrongs they had suffered and the determination to separate from Great Britain; the King having violated his compact with the people.

The historians of Maryland say that Charles Carroll of Carrollton was principally instrumental in securing the passage of the resolution favoring independence and that he was elected to Congress as a reward for this service.

Charles Carroll of Carrollton and Samuel Chase were just from Philadelphia where they had been in constant conference with the members of Congress on the question of independence.

Virginia had already declared herself a sovereign state and the patriot party of Maryland was anxious

to get in line with her; and men like Carroll and Chase chafed under anything like restraint.

The new members of Congress from Maryland hurried to Philadelphia and took their seats on July 18th, Charles Carroll of Carrollton among them. On the next day the Declaration of Independence which had passed July 4th was ordered engrossed on parchment and on August 2nd it was signed by those present on that day.

On the day he was sworn in, July 18th, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, was appointed on a committee of three to examine and report on some interrupted correspondence from Lord Howe to Governors Dinsmore of Virginia and Eden of Maryland.

On the 19th he was appointed as an additional member of the Board of War. This board as now constituted was made up of six members, John Adams, Roger Sherman, Benjamin Harrison, James Wilson, Edmund Rutledge, and Charles Carroll of Carrollton with Richard Peters as the Secretary.

In his diary, John Adams has an entry of July 18th in reference to the address to the War Board which said, "the member chosen is Mr. Carroll. An excellent member whose education, manners and application to business and to study did honor to his fortune, the first in America."

The new convention to frame a form of government for Maryland now a State, met at Annapolis August 14th of this year. Charles Carroll of Carrollton and William Paca were the members from Anne Arundel County. Charles Carroll of Carrollton came over from Philadelphia and took his seat on the 17th. Work of the convention went right on in a most expeditious and business like manner. Matthew Tilghman was made president of the convention. A

committee of three with Charles Carroll of Carrollton as chairman was named to report upon the state of the loan office. Then a committee of Maryland's greatest minds was designated to draw a bill of Rights and a Constitution. This committee consisted of Matthew Tilghman, Charles Carroll, barrister, William Paca, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, George Plater, Samuel Chase and Robert Goldsborough. Maryland was represented in Congress during this period by a single member Thomas Stone, the other members having gone home to attend the state convention.

There were some disagreements as to the Bill of Rights and Charles Carroll, barrister, with Thos. Beale Worthington and Samuel Chase withdrew from the convention. The two latter were re-elected to the convention but Charles Carroll, barrister, was left off at his own request and was made a member of Congress.

On the 17th of September the Maryland convention adjourned to October 2nd and the members of Congress returned to their duties in that body.

On the reassembling of the convention Charles Carroll of Carrollton was in his seat. He was appointed on a committee to prepare and present a plan for issuing bills of credit so that the state could meet the necessary expense of defense.

The Maryland delegates in Congress and three others formed a committee to consider matters for Congress relating to the State of Maryland. Except for a few days absence on account of illness in his family, Charles Carroll of Carrollton continued his service every day of the seven for the convention held its sessions on Sunday and the legislative bodies of the State continued to do so for a number of years. The theory of this was that the work for the people

was the Lord's work and therefore was no desecration of the Sabbath.

On the 31st the Bills of Rights was taken up and with some amendation adopted on November 3rd. The Constitution was then discussed till the 8th when it was adopted and after clearing up some incidental business relating to expenses the convention adjourned November 11th.

Thos. Johnson was elected Governor under the Constitution on the 13th. On the following day his five counsellors were selected and Charles Carroll of Annapolis headed the list. Both father and son appreciated this compliment and it must have been especially pleasing and gratifying to the elder Carroll who had so long chafed under the political disability of his family and friends. To see his son the most prominent and honored man of the Province and a power in the nation, and to be called himself to a position of great honor must have been a pretty full vindication for him in his advancing years. His health however, with the duties of the great estate to look after, caused him to decline the compliment. It can readily be seen that Charles Carroll of Carrollton had but little time for attention to the private affairs of the family.

The idea of a Senate as an upper house was originated and perfected by Mr. Carroll. Some question as to this was raised during Mr. Carroll's life time and in 1817 being asked as to the facts he wrote this letter of explanation:

> I was one of the committee that framed the constitution of this state and the mode of chusing the Senate was suggested by me; no objection was made to it in the committee as I remember except by Mr. Johnson, who disliked the Senate's filling up the vacancies in its own body. I replied that

> if the mode of chusing Senators by electors was deemed eligible, the filling up vacancies by that body was inevitable as the electors could not be convened to make choice of a Senator on every vacancy and that the senate acting under the sanctity of an oath and esprit de corps, would insure the election of the fittest men for that station, nor do I recollect while I was in the senate, that the power intrusted to it in this instance was ever abused and perverted to party views. I do not remember, at this distance of time, whether this part of the committee's report was objected to in the convention, nor any reports of its debates and proceedings other than that found in Hanson's edition of the laws, nor what was understanding of that body respecting the right of the Governor of nominating to the council.

The Congress was still in session in Baltimore in February 1777. On that date the Council of Safety called the first Assembly of Maryland together. It met in Annapolis on February 5th. The Senate selected by the board of electors as provided by the Constitution, was made up of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, George Plater, William Paca, Thomas Stone, Joseph Nicholson, Jr., Brice T. B. Worthington, Turbutt Wright, Samuel Wilson, James Tilghman, Mathew Tilghman, Robert Goldsborough, Charles Carroll, barrister, Thomas Johnson and Thomas Contee.

Some routine business was first transacted which gets meagre mention on the records. Then instructions were given as to a Virginia regiment serving in Maryland. A vote for Governor was taken on the 13th and Thomas Johnson was made the State's first Executive. This mode of electing a Governor by the Legislature was continued till up to the time of a few people still alive. Governor Samuel Stevens of Talbot, the last Governor elected by the Legislature, lived

St. Charles College founded by the Carrolls

till after the Civil War and was always a conspicuous and honored figure at great political gatherings.

On the 15th the Maryland delegates to Congress were elected as follows: Samuel Chase, Benjamin Rumsey, William Smith, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Thomas Stone and William Paca. Mr. Stone declined to serve. Mr. Rumsey was the father of the Maryland man who built the first steamboat.

So many of the Senators were also members of Congress that it was hard to get or hold a quorum. Charles Carroll of Carrollton however attended most of the sessions of the Senate till adjournment April 17.

At this session of the Assembly the Maryland delegates to Congress were instructed to bring the thirteen States into a confederation for a stricter union. Other instructions were given in regard to proportioning the debt of the States, etc.

Col. John Fitzgerald of Washington's staff writes from Morristown, N. J., to tell Charles Carroll of Carrollton that an armed vessel arrived at Portsmouth on the 18th from France with a cargo of 12,000 stands of arms, 1,000 barrels of powder, flints, guns for frigate, woolens, linens, etc., and also that a 50 gun ship sailed at the same time laden with heavy artillery and military stores. The colonel says "this news I am sure will be very agreeable to you and every other gentleman so strongly attached and deeply interested in this dispute."

After putting in a few days, two weeks only in fact, on some affairs of private business Charles Carroll of Carrollton appeared in his seat in Congress May 5th and was soon also in his old place in the Board of War. Samuel Adams was made a member of the board and Mr. Nourse was installed as assistant to Mr. Peters, the clerk.

The War Board was instructed to outline plans of

campaign and to make recommendations for improving the discipline of the army.

Charles Carroll of Carrollton was added to the Committee on Foreign Applications on May 12th. This was doubtless done at the suggestion of General Washington, who wanted to keep a closer line on the foreign officers who desired to enter our army. Mr. Carroll's French acquaintance and his familiarity with that tongue made him especially useful in this work, as most of the applicants were French. The Committee on Applications became really an annex of the War Board. In July Samuel Chase came to take his seat in Congress which enabled Mr. Carroll to take a rest.

In August Charles Carroll of Carrollton wrote to Dr. Franklin in Paris giving him a pretty full account of the progress of the war and the condition of things generally. He feels assured that the struggle for independence will be crowned with success but feels we must suffer in the meantime. His greatest apprehension is the fear of the depreciation of our paper money. He mentions the possibility of engaging some foreign soldiers but does not like the idea. The want of salt is mentioned and he says a bushel of salt sold in Baltimore for £9 ($40) — necessaries of life except wheat are very high — a part of this is told in a postscript which he mentions is longer than the letter.

The letter shows the cordial, almost brotherly feeling that existed between Mr. Carroll and Dr. Franklin.

CHAPTER XIII

SIGNING OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, AND THE MEN WHO SIGNED

Although the story of the signing of the Declaration of Independence has been written about and talked about for over one hundred and forty-one years, most people of to-day have only a vague impression of what actually took place. The most recent telling of the story by an actual participant was in 1826 when the scene was revived and Mr. Carroll talked freely and fully about it.

In the Spring of that year Congress resolved that it would be fitting to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the Signing by having facsimile copies of the document made. A sum of money was appropriated and two hundred and fifty copies of the old document were ordered, which should be reproductions of the original as perfect as the art of engraving could produce. Two copies were ordered presented to each of the living signers, and two to each family of a deceased signer. At the time this order was given John Adams, Thomas Jefferson and Charles Carroll of Carrollton were alive. But on the 4th of July of that year, and before the engraving of the document had been completed, Jefferson and Adams both died. This left Mr. Carroll as the only living signer.

The copies were finished and ready for delivery soon after Sept. 1st. Mr. Carroll was notified that a committee from Washington, accompanied by a messenger bringing the two copies would call on him to deliver the documents on Sept. 21. He was in Annapolis when the messenger came but notified the committee that he would receive them at the Manor.

The committee was headed by Hon. Ezekel F. Chambers, then a Senator from Maryland. Mr. Carroll had called together his family and a few friends and with these received the committee and messenger who brought the copies of The Declaration of Independence, as made under the direction of Congress. The two copies were presented and Judge Chambers after felicitating Mr. Carroll on his good health and his long life of usefulness handed him the following letter:

Dept. of State,
Washington, D. C.

To Charles Carroll,
of Carrollton.

Sir:—

In pursuance of a joint resolution of the two houses of Congress, a copy of which is hereto annexed, and by direction of the President of the United States, I have the honor of transmitting to you two facsimile copies of the original Declaration of Independence engrossed on parchment, conformably to a resolution of Congress of nineteenth of July, 1776, to be signed by every member of Congress, and accordingly signed on the second day of August, of the same year. Of this document, unparalleled in the annals of mankind, the original, deposited in this department, exhibits your name as one of the subscribers. The rolls herewith transmitted are copies as exact as the art of engraving can present, of the instrument itself, as well as of the Signers to it.

While performing the duty thus assigned me, permit me to felicitate you, and the country which is reaping the rewards of your labors as well; that your hand was affixed to this record of glory, as that, after the lapse of near half a century, you survive to receive this tribute of reverence and gratitude from your children, the present fathers of the land.

With every sentiment of veneration, I have the honor of subscribing myself your fellow citizen.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

Presented at
Doughoregan Manor,
Sept. 15th, 1826.

The occasion revived the story of the signing. Mr. J. H. B. Latrobe, who wrote the life of Mr. Carroll for Sanderson's Lives of the Signers, was one of those present. He and Judge Chambers lived to tell the story of that evening to people of the present generation. Mr. Latrobe was at that time at work on what he hoped would be another edition of his "Life of Mr. Carroll" and was, therefore, careful to note his explanation with care.

Mr. Jefferson, by inadvertently omitting the word "afterwards" in his brief account of their doings, caused people erroneously to believe that the document was signed on July Fourth, when, in fact, it was not signed for weeks and even months afterwards. The only signing on the Fourth of July was by John Hancock, the President, and Charles Thompson, the Secretary.

In fact, the idea of signing did not seem to occur to anyone till some time afterwards.

On the 19th of July Congress passed a resolution directing a copy of the document to be made on parchment, to which the signatures of members of Congress should be appended.

This was done and on August 2 all members present affixed their names.

On the Fourth of July previous, after the vote had been taken, about 7 o'clock in the evening, it is told that the Liberty bell was rung as an announcement to the people that the Declaration of Independence had been adopted.

As the bell pealed the news, Mr. Dickinson seriously observed: "I regard that as the death knell of these colonies."

Benjamin Franklin replied: "And I regard it as the announcement of the birth of a nation."

Mr. Carroll made it clear always that he did not have the opportunity to vote for independence.

On the last days of June and first days of July he was busy in Annapolis, persuading the Maryland Assembly to revoke the instruction to their delegation in Congress against independence. This he succeeded in doing, but did not get to Philadelphia till after July 4th. His account of what went on in Congress was, therefore, learned in his many talks with his associates.

On the first of July, 1776, Congress was struggling with the question of independence. Many patriots felt that the colonies had such good friends in England that it would be most politic to make the fight as English colonies. A number of the colonies, among them New York and Maryland, had instructed their representatives not to vote for independence. Such instructions, however, had been modified or revoked when the actual struggle began.

The real fight opened July 2, when Mr. Lee of Virginia offered this resolution:

> Resolved, That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be free and independent states: that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be, totally dissolved."

The resolution after being hotly debated all day was unanimously carried.

A committee of five with Mr. Jefferson as Chairman was appointed to draft a formal Declaration of Independence. This committee made its report on July

4 — Mr. Jefferson laid the document he had prepared before his associates, merely remarking: " I present this as embodying the views of your committee. It is for you to adopt, reject or correct. In discussing its merits I shall take no part. The document itself speaks for the committee."

It was read through and then taken up by paragraphs. John Adams, one of the committee, vigorously insisted on its adoption as presented, but there was strong opposition to much of it and the debate continued all day.

Several times Mr. Jefferson went over to some friend with " They are cutting the life out of the paper. They are eliminating my best sentences." But it was not till this paragraph was reached and seemed about to be condemned that Mr. Jefferson became much excited. It is a part of the arraignment of the King of England. " He has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, capturing and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This piracy, the opprobrium of infidel powers, is the warfare of the Christian King of Great Britain. Determined to keep open a market where men should be bought and sold, he prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or restrain this infamous commerce.

This was a proposition to put Congress on record as vigorously opposing the slave trade. Mr. Jefferson was earnestly and anxiously in favor of the clause.

But, two southern States that favored the slave trade and some northern states that were profitably engaged in catching and selling slaves, united against the paragraph and it was stricken out.

The document was further amended by Congress in a number of respects. Some paragraphs were cut out and some new matter inserted, and at 7 o'clock in the evening, as amended it was put on its final passage, and was unanimously adopted. It was signed by John Hancock and Charles Thompson, as President and Secretary, but by no one else at that time.

On August 2, the copy of the Declaration of Independence as finally adopted by Congress July 4 was brought into the hall and placed on Mr. Thompson's desk for inspection and approval.

John Hancock said, "Now, gentlemen, the document is ready for your signatures." Some one observed "but you haven't signed." When he answered, "as I signed the original document in signing the minutes of July 4th, I incur no added responsibility in signing this copy."

Turning to Mr. Carroll he asked "Mr. Carroll, have you any objection to signing." Mr. Carroll replied "Not the least. Where shall I sign?"

Mr. Hancock handed him the quill pen and looking over the document Mr. Carroll said, "I will sign here," and he placed his name in the position shown on the copy. The other Maryland delegates were present and signed, and the signing continued till the thirty-five members present had affixed their signatures. The document remained in the custody of Mr. Thompson, the Secretary, and each day as members appeared who had not signed, their attention was called to the paper. By September 15 all the signatures were affixed except two. One of these signed in December and John Dickinson of Pennsylvania declined to sign. He was a patriot and in full accord with the work of Congress, but being a member of the Society of Friends, declined to take a step which meant war.

Few people of the present day have anything like

an adequate appreciation of the exalted character, high ideals and genuine patriotism of the men who risked their all in the cause of independence.

It is not too much to say that, taken as a whole, their equal as a legislative body has been seen in no assemblage in England or America since their time. In the qualifications of education, moral character and business capacity they measured well above any similar body of their day or since.

Of the fifty-two signers, all but six were graduates of colonial or European colleges, or some one of the excellent academies of the times; or were the sons of wealthy men who had seen to their education at the hands of competent tutors — a custom that was much followed at that time.

In short, all but six were men who began life with broad, classical educations. Of the six who commenced their careers without such equipment, one was Benjamin Franklin, probably the best informed man in an all-round way of his own or any other age. Another, Roger Sherman, began his lifework as a shoemaker, but was enough of a scholar in later years to be made Treasurer of Yale College; two were surveyors. Another, Josiah Bartlett, became Chief Justice of his state. Eight of the signers were graduates of Harvard, five of Yale, three of William and Mary College, three of the College of Philadelphia, two of Princeton, one of the College of New Jersey, ten of Oxford, Cambridge and other English colleges, while sixteen were liberally educated at the smaller colleges and academies or at the hands of private tutors. With all our boasted educational facilities, where can a body of men be found, each so well equipped for the duties of a public career?

It was of such men that Lord Chatham in the British House of Lords said: " For myself I will affirm

that for strength of purpose, wisdom, sagacity and force in the face of trying circumstances no men or body of men in all history ever equaled that Continental Congress at Philadelphia."

These men were thoroughly imbued with the spirit of liberty, and independence, and with the ideas of the rights of man as embodied in the writings of the radical philosophers of England, France and Germany.

As late as in 1876 when Hon. John Lee Carroll was Governor of Maryland, well thumbed copies of the writings of Locke, Hobbs, Selden and Puffendorf in English, Latin and German, as well as many French books of the same character were to be found in the library at Doughoregan Manor where they had been used by the illustrious signers of the Declaration of Independence. They are probably all there to-day bearing the notations and comments of their first owner.

In a home-made blank book of foolscap paper with blue pasteboard covers marked in his own handwriting, "Some things I want to remember." Mr. Carroll had made extracts from and references to many of these radical writers. Some comments in this book also referred in a half humorous way to a speech made in the British Parliament by a member, who said, "If we do not completely crush the Americans there is great danger of their coming over here and making slaves of us."

An effort to unearth this book failed and the present Mr. Charles Carroll of Carrollton thought it might be in Italy where some of the papers had been taken.

The comments and extracts showed that even then, Mr. Carroll did not entirely agree with Jefferson in some of his more radical views. Mr. Carroll thought the Declaration of Independence more expressive and impressive in the form that it was adopted than it

would have been with the sentences that Congress struck out. In this view he differed from Adams and Franklin whose opinion he freely quoted in this connection. This book showed above everything else the high esteem in which Mr. Carroll held the views of Washington on questions of peace as well as of war, and how closely the two had coöperated to the very end of President Washington's great career. One line in this book written after a series of events very depressing to the Americans read, " The despair of a brave people always turns to courage."

The story is often told that Mr. Carroll wrote his name " Charles Carroll," when some one said, " I see several millions gone by confiscation," and another replied, " Oh, there are several Charles Carrolls." Mr. Carroll took his pen and added " of Carrollton." This story is not true. The signer wrote his name " Charles Carroll, of Carrollton," and his cousin Charles wrote his " Charles Carroll, barrister."

But Mr. Latrobe felt sure of the truth of the dialogue between Judge Chase and Dr. Franklin. When twenty-seven had finished signing, Judge Chase seriously remarked: " Having taken this step, we must hang together."

Franklin laughingly replied: " If we don't do that, we will hang separately."

Mr. Latrobe first gave this story to the public as it came from Judge Chase himself.

CHAPTER XIV

WORK IN STATE AND NATIONAL LEGISLATION — DEATH OF FATHER AND WIFE

Charles Carroll of Carrollton with Samuel Chase and John Penn were sent by Congress to the army to look fully into its conditions.

On August 22, Mr. Carroll wrote to Governor Johnson telling him of the arrival of Howe's fleet with the army on board and thinks he intends to form an encampment on the peninsula. He asks if the Assembly should be convened. He thinks Howe will recruit his army from the disaffected of Delaware and the Eastern Shore, and move on Philadelphia. He also gives the Governor news of the army of the North.

The letter mentioned above was written from General Smallwood's headquarters.

Sept. 14th General Smallwood wrote Governor Johnson that he was setting out for Philadelphia to join General Washington's army and Mr. Carroll added a postscript saying he would remain with General Smallwood and then either return home or go into Congress.

On the 22d of September he wrote to General Washington, making some suggestions and said as Mr. Smith, one of the delegates, was going home, he would have to go on to Congress to keep the State represented.

On the 27th of September he writes General Washington from Lancaster, Pa., making some further suggestions, and regrets that two officers of the army were much addicted to liquor and asks what confidence can be reposed in such men. He makes some further suggestions and adds: " My zeal for our Country, and

my wishes for your success, have compelled me to write thus fully on a subject which claims all your attention."

When the Congress met at Lancaster, Pa., Sept. 27, 1777, Charles Carroll of Carrollton and Samuel Chase were the only Maryland delegates present. Congress went to York, Pa., where it assembled on the 30th and the Articles of Confederation which had been many times under consideration during the Summer were taken up. The point of difference was a clause providing for representation according to population, every 50,000 inhabitants to be entitled to a representative. The Marylanders opposed the plan and it was defeated as were several others of a similar nature. It was finally determined that no State should have less than two nor more than seven members. Several propositions in regard to public lands were considered without results.

The defeat of Burgoyne was a subject of great congratulation in Congress but Mr. Carroll was at home with his family when the news was received.

On October 22, Charles Carroll of Carrollton wrote to Richard Peters, Secretary of the War Board, sending congratulations on the capture of Burgoyne. This letter was written from Doughoregan Manor where Mr. Carroll's family and his father were spending most of their time.

Charles Carroll of Carrollton took his seat in the Maryland Assembly October 31st. That body had been convened at his suggestions made to Governor Johnson and had met October 22. Charles Carroll, barrister, arrived the 7th of November.

Daniel Carroll of Rock Creek was elected to the Council in October, so that there were now three members of the Carroll family in the State government.

On December 5th the new delegation to Congress

was elected. It consisted of Samuel Chase, Wm. Paca, George Plater, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Thos. Stone and Joseph Nicholson.

Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Thomas Stone and Brice B. T. Worthington were named as a committee of the Senate to unite with one from the House to prepare rules for the guidance of the Maryland Commission which was to meet a similar commission from Virginia to settle the boundary disputes. These instructions were drawn by Charles Carroll of Carrollton and were reported to the House and Senate and being adopted were delivered to the Commissioners. They were very definite and explicit.

Charles Carroll of Carrollton made his appearance in Congress January 17, 1778, accompanied by James Forbes, who has been selected in place of William Paca, who declined.

On January 20, Congress resolved to add two members to the committee, which was to repair to the army and report on the state of the troops. The two members added to the committee were Charles Carroll of Carrollton and Governeur Morris. The three original members were Francis Dana, Joseph Reed and Nathaniel Folsom.

Some changes in the organization of the army were deemed advisable by Congress and to this end three members of Congress with three members of the War Board, were made a committee to attend at General Washington's headquarters and in concert with him formulated a plan for the purpose in view. Charles Carroll of Carrollton went most exhaustively into the matter remaining three months at Valley Forge with Washington. General Washington prepared a letter of fifty pages embodying the views of himself and his officers and this letter was brought to Con-

gress by Mr. Carroll and formed the basis of the report of this committee.

April 21st Mr. Carroll writes Governor Johnson giving him such information as has come to hand from abroad and tells of the doing in Congress and gives some news from the army. He also congratulated the country on the treaty entered into with France and the favorable disposition shown by most European states. Congress remained in session till the latter part of June and Mr. Carroll was in his seat during this part of the session.

He served on various committees on supplies and in regard to other business affairs.

Congress at this time renewed the extraordinary powers conferred on the Commander-in-Chief. These powers were of the broadest nature and empowered him to use his discretion in all things connected with the discipline, subsistence and management of the army. The resolutions extending these powers were referred to a committee consisting of Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, William Duer and John Barrister.

May 6, Mr. Carroll was on a committee to consider letters to the Board of War and later on another committee to consider all letters and papers in regard to the War sent to Congress.

Mr. Carroll served on various committees during the closing days of the session, all calling for constant work and untiring vigilance. Notwithstanding his religious convictions he was appointed one of a committee of three to consider the Representation of the Bishops and Elders of the United Brethren, settled in Pennsylvania. He gave this matter careful and friendly consideration and prepared a report in accordance with the wishes of the United Brethren.

After a vigorous discussion of the articles of Confederation, these were adopted but not before some

important amendments in regard to public lands were made.

Mr. Carroll returned to his home July 2d, where a great accumulation of private business awaited him and where many things connected with the State government also needed his attention.

At the opening of the Maryland Senate in the spring of 1778 Charles Carroll of Carrollton was at Valley Forge, but Charles Carroll, barrister, was in his seat in the Senate. Charles Carroll of Carrollton, however, appeared in his place as a Senator at the opening of the Fall session, October 29. The duties at home in connection with the defense of the province were so urgent that Charles Carroll of Carrollton resigned his seat in Congress. In the State Senate he was, as always, placed on the most important committees. The chief of these was the one to prepare instructions to Maryland delegates in Congress. In the earlier days of our government the States gave full and explicit directions to the delegates in Congress on all important issues and the delegates were expected to vote according to such instructions.

Mr. Carroll was placed on committees, on providing for disabled soldiers and for augmenting the funds of the national treasury. But the all absorbing question still was to the Articles of Confederation and the knotty problem was as to the handling of the public lands.

There was a good deal of friction between the House and the Senate and frequent conferences were necessary. The Senators were addressed as Your Honors and the members of the House as Gentlemen. There was more or less sarcasm in these conference debates.

Charles Carroll of Carrollton and Thomas Jennings were named to act with a committee of the House for amending the criminal law of the State.

After resolving that Charles Carroll of Carrollton be authorized to revise and correct the minutes, the Senate adjourned to meet again March 9, 1779.

When the Senate met in the spring of 1799 the most arduous work of Charles Carroll of Carrollton was to straighten out some difficulties in which his friend Samuel Chase had plunged. Mr. Chase was such an ardent patriot that he could not brook anything that looked like conciliation. So he had denounced several members of the Senate as "traitors" because they had suggested or spoken of making terms with Great Britain. Having made these charges outside, he was called to account in the Senate and there repeated them, denouncing four or five leading Senators for having written letters or spoken in favor of making terms. While a resolution was pending Charles Carroll of Carrollton made a pleasing and quieting address and succeeded in calming the tumult.

An effort to increase the pay of members of the House and Senate met the vigorous opposition of Mr. Carroll who succeeded in defeating the first salary grab effort of which we have any record.

Mr. Carroll was made chairman of a joint committee of the Senate and House to sit during recess and review and examine the accounts of the State.

After a little more trouble of the same kind between the two branches the body adjourned March 25th but was convened in extra session by the Governor, July 15.

At the regular fall session both the Charles Carrolls were in their seats and Daniel Carroll was made a member of the new council. Thomas Sims Lee was elected Governor.

Charles Carroll of Carrollton served on the supply committee and about this time laid before the Senate a petition by the Quakers asking certain concessions.

An effort to lay an embargo on grain was made but failed on a tie vote. Charles Carroll of Carrollton was in favor of it.

An effort to confiscate the property of all British owners was made by the House but the Carrolls thought it hasty, ill advised and unnecessary at this time. These efforts at confiscation were kept up by the House and regularly defeated by the Senate. Charles Carroll of Carrollton leading the opposition. In a letter to Dr. Franklin, Mr. Carroll says, " I think the measure impolitic, contrary to the practice of civilized nations, and it may involve us in difficulties about making peace."

Washington had learned with dismay of the determination of Charles Carroll of Carrollton to give up his seal in Congress and many of his associates felt the same way. But Mr. Carroll found it impossible to satisfactorily serve in both positions especially as the two legislative bodies were frequently in session at the same time. Washington wrote deploring Mr. Carroll's leaving Congress, saying " His ideas generally concur with mine." But Charles Carroll of Carrollton and most of his immediate associates felt that there was a higher degree of honor and usefulness in serving as a Maryland Senator than as a delegate in Congress.

In a letter to Dr. Franklin in Paris written December 5, 1779, Charles Carroll of Carrollton tells of the doings of the Maryland Assembly and touches earnestly on some national affairs.

Dr. Franklin always gave great credit to Mr. Carroll for his aid and influence in bringing about and maintaining our pleasant and profitable relations with France. These two patriots were always in close touch and Mr. Carroll's knowledge and influence were at the call of his friend in Paris. In telling Dr. Frank-

lin of the depreciation of our paper currency, he explains that Hyson tea sells at 100s per pound and corn 40s a barrel.

The Maryland Assembly met March 25, 1780, Charles Carroll of Carrollton was in his seat in the Senate. The friction between the Senate and House this time developed over the election of Congressmen, but did not prove serious. The confiscation bill was again defeated the opposition being led by Charles Carroll of Carrollton. The Assembly adjourned May 15th, but was called in extra session in June when resolutions were passed urging Congress to send armies to the State for her protection; and an enrollment of the militia was ordered.

At the closing of this session an address to the people of the State was ordered and Charles Carroll of Carrollton was requested to prepare it. This he did and it was adopted by both Houses and issued to the people of the State. The address was a stirring one closing with " The fall of Charleston, and the distress of our brave friends in that quarter, have infused fresh vigor into the Councils of America. Let us, like the Romans of old, draw new resources and increase of courage from defeats and manifest to the world that we are most to be dreaded when most depressed."

When the date for the meeting of the Assembly October 17 arrived but two Senators were on hand, Charles Carroll of Carrollton and Thomas Stone. It was November 2d before eight Senators, making a quorum, were present. On the 17th of November an election for members of Congress occurred and in his absence from the Senate he was elected to the National Congress.

The ever present confiscation act again came up and was again defeated under the leadership of Mr. Carroll.

Mr. Carroll was appointed on a committee to communicate with the assemblies of Delaware and Virginia to secure joint action of the three states in the matter of an embargo on grain.

Maryland had invested £27,000 in Bank of England stock, and that institution had protested all the drafts for dividends drawn since the troubles began. This act of the bank was a strong argument in favor of confiscating the property of British people and caused Charles Carroll of Carrollton to weaken in his opposition to that measure.

He declined to return to Congress but expressed in strong terms his appreciation of the compliment paid him in the election.

When the time came for the second session of the Assembly May 19th, Charles Carroll of Carrollton and three other Senators only were present. A quorum was present on the 29th and business proceeded. Financial matters and supply bills were the most important of the business at hand and these were disposed of after much discussion and many amendments. The alliance with France had been announced greatly to the delight of our people. In this work Dr. Franklin had received constant and valuable aid from Mr. Carroll, which will be mentioned more in detail in another chapter.

Some further revenue acts were passed and also a bill providing lands for the officers and soldiers who served the State.

At the opening session April 25, 1782, only Charles Carroll of Carrollton and Edward Lloyd of Talbot were present as Senators, but George Plater and Col. Richard Barnes came a day or two later but it was not until May 10th that the Senate could organize with a quorum.

In August, 1781, Mrs. Mary Darnell, the mother of

the wife of Charles Carroll of Carrollton died at Doughoregon Manor. This was the first sorrow that had come into the life of this active and earnest man. He writes that "Rev. John Carroll came up to conduct the funeral and that the event cast a cloud over them all especially Mrs. Carroll."

In 1780 Eliza, the youngest of the seven children, was born, who only lived three years. The other children were Elizabeth, Mary, Louise, Rachel, Charles, Ann Brock and Catherine. Charles was born in 1775.

The death of Mrs. Darnell was soon followed by other sorrows in the life of this busy man. In less than a year his father had died and also his wife and both were laid with Mrs. Darnell under the chapel. Thus was he left to pass fifty years of widowerhood.

In a letter written July 9th he says " I have had the misfortune to lose my father and wife within a year of each other. My father died, the 30th of May, suddenly, and my wife on the 10th ultimo after a short but very painful illness."

Mr. Carroll, senior, fell from the porch of the house and the shock and injuries caused his death and probably hastened the end of Mrs. Carroll, his daughter-in-law.

But Charles Carroll, senior, who had educated his son with such care and faithfulness and had centered so many hopes in his future, remained to see that son become the most useful, most highly honored and most fully trusted man of Maryland and hardly second to any in America. There are few instances of such ambition and such hopes being so fully gratified.

CHAPTER XV

WITH WASHINGTON AND THE ARMY AT VALLEY FORGE — "THE BREWING OF A CONSPIRACY"

In the fall of 1777 Washington's army, hungry, poorly clad, and depressed in spirits was encamped at White Marsh, a beautiful spot some seven miles from Philadelphia. The army numbered, according to the roll, about eleven thousand men, but winter always depleted the ranks and the prospects which the coming winter held out were more discouraging than ever. The Continental Congress was holding its sessions at York, Pa., about sixty miles from Philadelphia by way of the old Lancaster road.

Mr. Carroll, as a member of the Maryland Senate, with important matters before it, was kept in Annapolis most of the time. But he made several trips to York and twice extended them to White Marsh to confer with Washington.

He saw the conspiracy which John Adams, Samuel Adams, Dr. Rush and others were working up and the condition gave him great concern.

General Washington had been contending with innumerable difficulties and was himself well nigh discouraged. His enemies were soon able to have the War Board strengthened in numbers by adding to it General Gates and General Miflin. Gates was made President of the Board and in a way this made him the superior of General Washington, as Washington, in reporting to Congress through the War Board had to report directly to Gates. This reorganization of the War Board, or rather annex to the War Board, went into operation October 17, and we find Mr. Carroll absenting himself from his other duties to make a visit

to Washington at White Marsh. At this time the British held Philadelphia and General Howe and his officers were holding high jinks in the Quaker City. He had plenty of supplies brought to him by sea and with coin to pay for it, could get all that the thrifty Pennsylvania farmers had to sell. But few were so patriotic as to prefer the depreciated paper currency of the Colonies to the gold and silver which the British had to spend. Howe's troops were well fed, well clothed and well equipped; and the wonder was with Washington and every one else that he did not take a few days off from his hilarities and capture the entire main army of the Colonies. Conferences of his officers and with Mr. Carroll as a member of the War Board were held in October and in November and preparations were made for a new location for winter quarters and Valley Forge, thirteen miles away was selected. Mr. Carroll made three trips from York to White Marsh in his own gig driven by the faithful O'Fallon, who accompanied him in nearly all his jaunts. From Annapolis to York could be made in three days and from York to White Marsh or Valley Forge in two days.

Valley Forge was a well sheltered point protected on three sides by its natural location from sudden attacks, and it was the best point from which to intercept an attack on York if Howe took it into his head to try to capture the Continental Congress. Weather prophets of the locality foretold an early and hard winter and their prophecies were promptly and most completely fulfilled. It was out of the question to expect the men to exist in tents through the winter, even if there had been tents enough to furnish lodgings. But even tents were insufficient and ragged.

Men were sent ahead and with logs cut from the forest constructed rude huts, filling in the crevices

between the logs with clay or mud. December 11th was set for moving the main body of the army. Snow had begun to fall on December 3d and the route from White Marsh to Valley Forge was marked by stains of blood left by the lacerated feet of the soldiers as they trudged wearily along. Accommodations for 3,000 or 4,000 men had been constructed in advance but this was barely enough for the sick and disabled. The men were not only ragged but almost naked. Some had a shirt and no coat, and others only a piece of a shirt and wrapped in an old blanket. Never before or since has been seen anything called an army in such a condition. Washington blamed Congress; Congress blamed the quartermaster general and the soldiers blamed everybody. The Pennsylvania legislature at this stage added to the discouragement by passing a resolution protesting against the army going into winter quarters at Valley Forge. To this resolution Washington replied, reprimanding Gen. Mifflin of Pennsylvania, the quartermaster general, and said, "for the want of two days' supply of provisions an opportunity scarcely ever offered of taking advantage of the enemy that has not been either totally obstructed or greatly impeded. Men are confined in hospitals or in farmers' houses for want of shoes. We have this day (Dec. 23) no less than 2,873 men in camp unfit for duty because they are barefooted and otherwise naked. Our whole strength in continental troops amounts to no more than 8,200 men fit for duty. Since the 4th instant our numbers fit for duty, from hardships and exposures, have decreased nearly 2,000 men. Numbers are still obliged to sit all night by fires. Gentlemen reprobate going into winter quarters as if they thought the soldiers were made of sticks and stones. I can assure these gentlemen that it is much easier and less dis-

tressing to draw remonstrances in a comfortable room by a good fireside, than to occupy a cold, bleak hill, and sleep under frost and snow without clothes or blankets. However, although they seem to have little feeling for the naked and the distressed soldiers, I feel superabundantly for them, and from my soul I pity those miseries which it is neither in my power to relieve nor prevent." This condition was brought about partly by blundering incompetency, and partly as the result of the conspiracy to supersede Washington as commander-in-chief, with General Gates. Gates had found himself a hero as the result of the surrender of Burgoyne, a success for which he was less responsible than either Morgan or Benedict Arnold. But being the commander he was made the recipient of all the credit and was a natural figure on which the discontents at Washington could center. Gen. Mifflin, being on the Board of War, as well as having been made quartermaster general, was in a position where his blunders or his treachery would work to the disadvantage of General Washington and his suffering army. It is said that there were thousands of cases of shoes and quantities of clothing and equipments brought from France, then resting in warehouses because Mifflin and the new quartermaster's department had not seen to their distribution.

General Washington occupied a farm house as his headquarters and to this Mr. Carroll came on his visits to the commander-in-chief.

Washington was criticized in and out of Congress for not attacking Howe, who with 20,000 well clothed, well nourished, well equipped and well-trained men rested complacently in Philadelphia. It was Fabian and unexplicable to men like John Adams and others that Washington with his 7,000 barefooted, hungry,

shivering men could not march on and capture this army of 20,000.

The loyalty, faithfulness and unflinching patriotism of this ragged and suffering army can never be overestimated. A cordial reception; food, clothes and money in Philadelphia awaited any who would desert and return to the British allegiance. To their credit it is recorded that the desertions were very few, and these were nearly all by foreigners who had no special interest in the cause. Americans and Irish to a man remained faithful in spite of temptation. They had an abiding faith in Washington and in the ultimate result of their struggles.

The faction in Congress that was opposed to General Washington was made up of the same men that denounced the French alliance. In fact men like Samuel Adams, John Adams and others of their clique were about as suspicious of, and as much opposed to aid from France as were the Loyalists. John Adams, while in Paris, had quarreled with Vergennes and in other blundering ways had made the work of Franklin much harder. All these men made Washington, Carroll, and Franklin the special objects of their spite.

During Mr. Carroll's many visits to the army and his serious consideration of the difficulties the patriots had to meet, he and Washington discussed earnestly the fact of a want of proper military training and drill. Strange as it may seem the army was in total ignorance of the rules and maneuvers of war. Mr. Carroll saw this condition and the possibilities growing out of it, and this was constantly emphasized by Col. Tilghman, the military secretary of General Washington. Tilghman said " not one of the men is a soldier till he puts his gun to his shoulder and then he's a wonder," and strangest of all there was no man to

drill them. The few men capable were above accepting the post of drillmaster. In this dilemma Tilghmore was directed to write to France hoping to get the right man. The country was overrun with French officers willing to be major generals and clamoring about their rank in the French army, but there was none among them suited to the job in hand, who would take it. Tilghman wrote to the ever ready Beaumarchais.

The right man was found in Steuben. He had no great desire to come and besides was only a Colonel. To properly impress Congress and secure him such an appointment as was necessary more than a Colonel must be found. In the colonies Colonels were as plenty as blacksmiths and generally not half as useful. Beaumarchais had got the French court deeply interested in the effort. So Steuben was made a Lieutenant General of the Margraviate of Baden, and with this title as an endorsement he was induced to sail for America. He had been with Frederick the Great, and had received the training, and had imbibed the discipline of the Prussian Army. It was also necessary that he should come as an enthusiastic patriot like LaFayette. He was induced to meet all these requirements and he did so to the satisfaction of his French and American associates. Congress agreed to make him Inspector General of the Army. He proved to be all that had been looked for in such a capacity. He was most indefatigable and successful in drilling the men; and though his indifferent English, and his gesticulations were amusing to the men, they caught his ideas and quickly profited by his instructions. He formed the officers into squads, took the musket into his own hands and had the officers do the same as he taught them the manual of arms as used in the army of Prussia. He soon had squads of fine drill masters

and the army right quickly began to show the effect of his laborious efforts. This drilling and training of the men began in early spring. Mr. Carroll spent the entire time from late in February till nearly the first of May with the army. He saw the result on the men; both in exhilaration of spirits and in the increased efficiency shown. Young Tilghman was delighted, and as he was from Mr. Carroll's state and a close relative of one of his co-workers in the senate Mr. Carroll was pleased also on his account. General Washington, who always shared confidences with his fellow officers, and gave due weight to all their suggestions was pleased at his enthusiasm and gave due credit to Colonel Tilghman for having so earnestly urged the bringing over of such a man as Steuben. One of Steuben's main troubles was in the pronunciation of his name. Steuben raved at having his name pronounced as spelled and did'nt like the accent on the last syllable. " He would say I am not a Stew nor yet a Ben " and then he would pronounce it as if it were spelled " Stoiban " with accent on the " Stoi." But it was no use; to the soldiers " Steuben " he was and " Steuben " he remained.

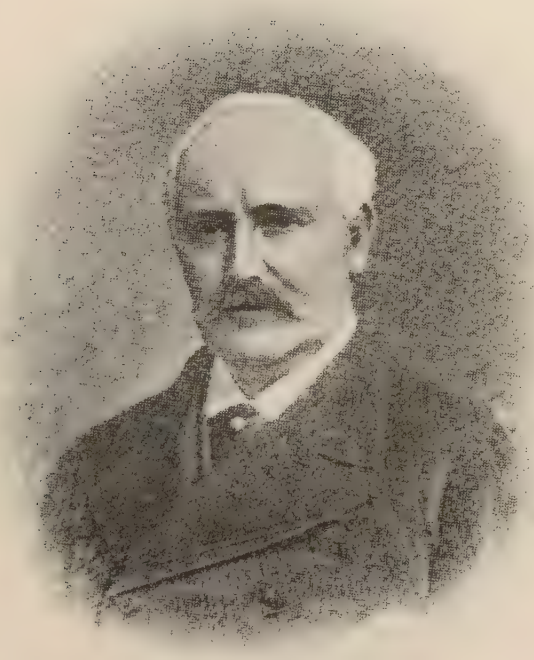
Mr. Carroll arrived at Vally Forge a couple of days in advance of Steuben and was on hand to help receive him. His proficiency in the French and German languages made him useful in presenting the newcomer to his comrades, and in explaining conditions so novel to the European as to make them almost inexplicable. But Steuben was likable and pleasing in all things. He took in the situation and at once went enthusiastically at his work.

About the time of the arrival of Steuben and Mr. Carroll at Valley Forge a condition arose which gave General Washington great concern. He was a man with a keen sense of justice and shrunk from exercis-

ing an arbitrary power to the loss of some one else. He was clothed by Congress with authority to seize food and to exercise such power as might be necessary in providing for the needs of the army; but always hesitated about exercising that arbitrary power. But now food was absolutely necessary. The Pennsylvania farmers were not only Loyalists to a great extent but, the gold and silver of Howe was too much of a temptation to be ignored. So with only paper money to offer, his quartermasters could not secure provisions of any kind from the farmers. Under these circumstances detachments were sent out in every direction and scoured the country for food. They found enough to meet pressing requirements much to the disgust of the thrifty farmers who were smuggling it to Howe whenever opportunity offered.

While actual sufferings were being so heroically endured at Valley Forge the officers were constantly regaled with stories of the regal entertainments Howe and his officers were giving. With supplies in profusion from abroad, the wine cellars of rich Philadelphians at his command, and the farmers bringing in their produce, the British in Philadelphia were enjoying the best that two continents could afford, and they capped the climax of festivities in May by giving the "Mischianza," a great pagent and regatta during the day and a ball at night. Lurid accounts of their doings reached the patriots in Valley Forge and did not tend to make them more contented. But they did enjoy one big piece of news. On the very day the British officers, twenty-two miles away, were celebrating "the Mischianza" Washington received the news of the signing of the treaty with France. The ragged and tattered troops under directions of the assiduous Steuben were paraded and as they displayed their newly acquired efficiency in drill they

received the announcement of the good news from Paris. The French officers, of whom there were many in camp, headed by young LaFayette, received the thanks, good wishes and congratulations of the American officers and the men cheered and cried out " Long live the King of France," " long live the Friendly Powers of Europe," and the French officers echoed back " long live the United States of America " and " Long live General Washington, the Commander-in-Chief of their forces." Mr. Carroll who had returned to his seat in Congress at York missed this scene but he had full accounts of it in letters from his friends.



Hon. John Lee Carroll
Governor of Maryland in 1876

CHAPTER XVI

THE CONWAY CABAL. CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON FOILS THE CONSPIRACY TO DISPLACE WASHINGTON

In order to give a more connected idea of the troubles which Mr. Carroll and the other friends of Washington had been encountering it is necessary to go back a little and repeat some of the things already told. The conspiracy against Washington had been seething since sometime before the surrender of Burgoyne, but that event so upset Gates that a new and powerful impetus was given and by reason of the connection of Gen. Conway, an Irish officer, with the affair, it came to be called " The Conway Cabal " and it is so known in history though Conway was one of the least important of the conspirators.

The " Conway Cabal," which gathered together all the discontents and reckless ambitions of the army, was one of the most formidable attempts ever made to destroy a public man. The complaint against Washington was that he was slow, dull and heavy; and that he was incompetent for any military command; and it was re-enforced by the clamor and the plots of such men as Gates, Adams, Rush and Mifflin. This kind of opposition followed him in a nagging way all through the Revolution.

Gates was so elated over his success in the capture of Burgoyne; or rather over the success — for credit belonged less to him than to the commanders under him; that he determined to ignore Washington entirely. Instead of reporting to the commander-in-chief he sent this message direct to Congress, " With

an army in health, vigor and spirits Major General Gates now awaits the commands of the honorable Congress," and Congress in spite of the efforts of the friends and supporters of Washington appointed Gates to regain the forts and passes on the Hudson River which Washington had already regained by pressing Howe so closely that he had been compelled to evacuate them. Gates refused to obey Washington and send his now unnecessary troops to reinforce the main army. Even Congress refused permission for Washington to withdraw more than 2,500 troops from Gates, and those Gates refused to send for some time, even after Hamilton had gone north and made a personal appeal. A motion was made in Congress that he should not detach any troops except with the permission of Gates. Both John Adams and Samuel Adams and some six others of the clique voted for it, but men like Carroll, Morris and Chase were able to defeat it.

The Maryland delegates in Congress had been instructed to urge the confederation of the Colonies and after much friction and many difficulties this was accomplished on November 15, 1777. Mr. Carroll had come up for his conference with Washington to take part in this effort. Questions of taxation, public lands, rights of state had to be fought out and were fought out in a way that laid a permanent foundation for the more stable union that followed. Mr. Carroll had early imbibed those principles that called for a strong federal government; and that made him a staunch Federalist after the first division into parties came. This alliance of the great Marylander was one of principle entirely, for his friendships and personal feeling were much more for the people that opposed the Federalists. One close to Mr. Carroll said that he despised John Adams, while admiring his principles;

and he admired Jefferson, while despising his principles. A kind of government was formed by these articles of confederation, but it was a government without vitality or force. It could not levy a tax, raise a soldier, or keep its engagements with foreign powers. But it was a beginning; a frail one, it is true; but the beginning of a governmental structure nevertheless. Mr. Carroll was one of those who bemoaned its weakness, but accepted it as the best that could be secured.

Having given his time to Congress when it seemed absolutely necessary to do so, Mr. Carroll was appointed on a committee to visit Valley Forge and confer with Washington as to the work of reorganizing the army. The committee was made up mainly of Washington's friends. When this committee was appointed the conspiracies against Washington were seething. There was one suggestion that Congress should send a committee of officers to Valley Forge with orders to arrest Washington, depose him from command, and bring him as a prisoner before Congress. The conspirators had counted their supporters and felt they were about even, when the arrival of Gouverneur Morris put them in a minority. The story is told that before going to Valley Forge Dr. Benjamin Rush said to Mr. Carroll, "so you are going to Valley Forge to look into the conduct of Washington. I hope you will feel that he ought to be deposed."

"I shall not," answered Mr. Carroll. "Is'nt that rendering a verdict before you have heard the testimony," asked Rush.

"It is, and I have" answered the friend of Washington. Then Rush went on, "But it may be necessary to put a man like Gen. Gates at the head of the army. If so I hope he would receive the same loyal support from you that you have given to Gen. Washington."

Mr. Carroll then said, deliberately and weighing his words carefully, "In that case I should wash my hands of the whole affair and retire to private life. I would leave this country or not as circumstances required; but I would have nothing more to do with this cause."

Everything possible had been done and was being done to nag and annoy Washington into resigning. He repeatedly said that if there was a demand by the people for him to retire from the position he had not sought, and which had been fraught with labor, care, anxiety and hardship, he would gladly resign; but he would not retire in the face of a factional opposition.

While he was facing Howe at White Marsh and driving back a well equipped, well fed, well disciplined army of twice his numbers with his ragged, foot sore and sick band of Continentals and trying to secure them the possibilities of mere existence through the winter, he was facing the opposition of the Pennsylvania legislature, the careless improvidence of a treacherous quartermaster general, and the work of this band of conspirators in the Congress at York. Little wonder that he and his friends were well nigh discouraged.

General Conway was an Irish officer serving with the French. He had grown up in France, been educated there and had attained high rank in the French army. But he was one of the host that came over seeking high commissions and important commands. He wrote Congress almost demanding a promotion to a Major Generalship. Mr. Carroll on the floor of Congress opposed the promotion and denounced Conway in strong terms. The effort to supplant Washington was then well under way and Mr. Carroll seeing in this attempted promotion of Conway a move of the conspirators defeated it. The following letter

from Conway to Carroll is on file in the State Department and shows Conway's bitterness towards the friend of Washington.

To Charles Carroll of Carrollton —

The Congress, York, Pa.

Sir.— This day I have sent my resignation to Congress. Seven weeks ago several gentlemen wrote to me from the seat of Congress, mentioning the extraordinary discourses held by you, Sir, by Mr. Lovell, Mr. Duer, and some other members on account of my applying for the rank of major general. If I had harkened to well grounded resentment, I should have undoubtedly have left the army instantly. But my delicacy pointed out to me to continue in the army until the end of the campaign; this I have done. I look upon the campaign as finished, for I am pretty clear that since the enemy is reinforced, and has had time to secure his front with a double line of fortifications, nothing can be attempted with any degree of safety, propriety, or appearance of success. Now, Sir, I will undertake to show that my request of being made a major general had nothing in it so unreasonable as to cause your astonishment, and the most disobliging reflections, thrown by you, Sir, and other members of Congress.

Of all the French officers who came to this continent. I am the most advanced in rank, and the only field officer bearing rank in actual service. Chevalier De Barre was a lieutenant colonel in 1757; he was thanked in 1761; if he had continued in service he would be now a major general in the French army, and mentioned in Military Kalendar, which is printed every year, and wherein every officer bearing rank, from the Marechal of France to the last sub-lieutenant, is carefully mentioned. Baron De Kalb got a commission of lieutenant colonel, and left the army in 1762. If he had been

continued in service and had borne a rank in our army, he would be in the center of our brigadiers, but I am very certain that you will find neither of these gentlemen in the Kalendar, because they have no rank in the army, and, indeed, did not interfere with it these sixteen years past.

" I am told that Baron De Kalb had a brevet of of brigadier from the Minister of the Navy, such as was obtained by Mr. Ducoudray and some of his officers. Whether he had or not, I am still certain that this brevet cannot give him the rank over me in the French army, because there has never been an instance of it in our service. I always appeal to the Military French Kalendar, which is the true standard of rank. It was in order to guard against those sham brevets, for which I understood that some people were applying, that I made with Mr. Deane the only condition which is to be found in my agreement. The condition was that no officer who had not an equal rank with me in actual service should be put over me. Mr. Deane promised it to me, and told me, in taking me by the hand, that I was the only gentleman who had not taken advantage of his present situation.

He directed me to encourage and bring over some officers of the Irish Brigades. I got one hundred and sixty guineas for that purpose. I gave eighty-four guineas to two officers who came over with me, and whose receipts I can produce. Seventy-six guineas I sent to four officers of the Irish Brigade, who were prevented from embarking on account of the noise made about the Amphitrite. I charged nothing for myself, although my expences to come to this country amounted to above one hundred and twenty guineas; although I am now in the case of selling my effects in order to reach some seaport. But I will not dwell upon the article of cash. After Mr. Ducoudray had left me in Port Lorient last January, I got charge of the Amphitrite, and of the letters for Congress, which letters

I delivered to Colonel Langdon upon my landing at Portsmouth. The captain of the Amphitrite had positive orders to sail for St. Domingo, and the Commissary of the Navy Board at Port Lorient had made him sign a formal promise not to come to this continent. He was determined to follow his orders; in order to make him alter his determination, I gave him a certificate by which I acknowledged that by violence I compelled him to infringe the King's positive orders, and steer for this continent. The captain is now in possession of the certificate. If France does not take an active part or a public one in the present contest, the captain of the Amphitrite, which ship has caused such loud complaints from Lord Stormont, will be brought to account for disobedience; he will have my certificate to produce; I may fall a sacrifice to policy, lose my rank, and the prospect of speedy promotion in France, and the fruits of thirty years' constant service.

At my arrival here M. De Barre, my inferior in rank, who got six hundred thousand livres in France, was made a brigadier, and paid as such from the month of December, when I was appointed the last brigadier of the army. After the battle of Brandywine, Baron De Kalb, also my inferior, who got about a thousand pounds here or in France, was a major general. If I patiently bore such repeated wrongs, it might be concluded in France that I misbehaved; and indeed the Congress instead of looking upon me as an officer who enjoyed some esteem and reputation in the French infantry, must take me for a vagabond who flew here to get bread. I thank God that neither one nore the other is the case. I came over here because I liked the cause and like it still; because I was often and warmly invited by Mr. Deane. My candid way of acting with him will testify it. As to my behaviour I appeal to the army.

The French gentleman told me, Sir, that you asked in a most despising manner what I had done. Indeed, I must confess that I did not do all that I wish to have done, but I hope I have done as much as left in my power. As I am not acquainted with your gazette writers, I must tell you that upon my arrival in camp I was night and day employed in writing instructions concerning the camp, the outguards, the orders of marches, of which I found not the least notion in this army. Part of those instructions was followed, the greatest part was not; this is not my fault. I wrote several plans about the economical administration of this army where I saw many striking abuses. I am confident that this army is sufficient (if) not to ruin, at least to distress the continent, whereas, it could be kept upon a flourishing footing in saving one-third part of the money spent upon it. As (it) seems I have not been understood, at least I saw no alteration for the better.

At the Short Hills I was first ready, and first attacked, drew up my brigade in battle, stopped the enemy, and made my retreat without running, and without losing a single prisoner. The other brigade had been attacked an hour after mine, and I think I had given it full time to retreat. At Brandywine my brigade remained the last upon the ground, and though I had been abandoned pretty early by the brigades of the right and left, my brigade continued fighting until it was flanked on both sides by the enemy. That same brigade was the first or rather the only brigade that rallied to oppose the enemy's pursuit, when for want of ammunition it was ordered to be relieved at the close of the evening by a French brigade which had not yet been engaged. At Germantown, with little better than four hundred men, I began the attack, and was fighting three-quarters of an hour before any individual came to support me.

You asked upon what grounds I could call for the rank of major general. Because I can be more useful at the head of a division than at the head of a small brigade. Because in my young days I had a larger command before the enemy than what I have had in your army. Because being those twenty years constantly studying military operations, having traveled through Europe to take a view of the different armies, having been lately employed in making out a set of field manoeuvers, having practiced and tried said manoeuvres last year in the presence of several experienced generals, both German and French, I thought myself more qualified to command a division than such major generals who had never seen a line of battle as they confess themselves, before Brandywine and and as it too well appeared.

It was for want of knowledge and practice in forming the lines that Brandywine was partly lost. I can assign many other reasons for the loss of that battle. It was for want of forming the line and of manoeuvering that we miscarried at Germantown, our left wing, composed of the largest part of our army, having lost near an hour in an useless counter march, as it appears by the several testimonies given at a court-martial now sitting, of which I am a member. I am far from thinking myself a general, but I believe that after having studied and practiced this trade steadily during almost all my life, I may venture to say that I know somewhat more of it than the brave, honest men who never made it their business. I have much regard for Baron De Kalb and think that the continent has made in him the acquisition of a good officer, but I can venture to say that I have gone through and seen at least as much service as he did.

This letter, Sir, if you have patience to read it, will convince you that my request of being made a major general was not altogether as impertinent as you, sire, and other gentlemen have

styled it. I was much surprised at the reflections which you made upon the subject, as I am conscious that I have done nothing in my life that could make me contemptible in the eyes of any honest man. I suppose that your strange opinion of me originates from the misfortune I have of not being better known to you. However, I shall always cherish the cause I have fought for, and shall be very happy to hear of its success.

I am, with much regard, Sir,
Your obedient, humble servant,

T. Conway.

As is usual in such cases Mr. Carroll was constantly reminded of the religion of Conway and support of the man asked on that account. But such appeals had no effect on a patriot like Mr. Carroll. They were usually made too, by men who had no sympathy with the religious faith of the great signer.

The movement to reorganize the War Board or rather to name an annex to it with General Gates as President was made while Mr. Carroll was in attendance on the Maryland Senate. They did not dare go as far as to supplant him but sought to make his efforts less effective, by increasing the size of the board and making General Gates the President. The scope of this annex or new membership was not very clearly defined. But Gates and Mifflin, the two military members, were stoutly against Washington. Mr. Carroll got to York on the day that Congress was discussing the matter of reorganizing the army. He saw that the chief end of this reorganization was to injure Washington. Instead of opposing it he fell in with the idea of a committee to go to Valley Forge and study the conditions and learn the requirements. This committee was appointed and of course Mr. Carroll headed it, and he secured a committee mainly friendly to his views.

It was in the discharge of the duties of this committee that he spent so much time at Vally Forge during the winter.

General Conway after his disappointment at not being promoted rallied the discontents and took change of the effort to have Gates supplant Washington. But he had not the discretion of the others. Success depended on keeping the matter from reaching Washington till the plans were further matured. Conway talked, gesticulated and shrugged his shoulders so much that his secret was soon in the air. Then Wilkenson, a staff officer of Gates in a drunken brawl blurted it out. About the same time anonymous letters reached the president of Congress, Patrick Henry and others telling what could be accomplished by the army, "if it had a man at its head like Gates, Mifflin or Conway." These letters were sent to Washington at Valley Forge where the faithful Tilghman read them to Washington and Carroll and the three discussed the situation. Washington merely wrote to Gates and Mifflin letting them know that the information had reached him, and the conspiracy collapsed. Mr. Latrobe said that though Mr. Jefferson was not personally friendly to Mr. Carroll and was on the opposite side of the political division that followed, he always insisted that the conspiracy against Washington would have succeeded if it had not been for the loyalty and vigilance of Mr. Carroll. Colonel Tilghman went further and said he knew that it was Mr. Carroll that had saved the day. But Tilghman's admiration and love for Mr. Carroll might have warped his judgment. He came from Maryland and was a nephew of Matthew Tilghman one of Mr. Carroll's closest workers in the Maryland Senate.

Mifflin urged that Conway be made Inspector General of the army with the rank of Major General.

Wayne expressed his determination to follow the lead of Gates and Mifflin. Conway, to advance his intrigue tendered his resignation to Congress and offered to Gates as President of the War Board his services to form a plan for the instruction and better discipline in the army. Lovell of Massachusetts wrote to Gates, "the army will be totally lost unless you come down and collect the virtuous band who wish to fight under your banner." Gates wrote to Conway a letter that showed him to be fully cognizant of, and a party to the conspiracy. All this was going on at a time when Washington's army was suffering for food and clothing through the treachery of Mifflin with the connivance of the others.

Once when some one said that Mr. Carroll's loyalty and watchfulness had saved the day for Washington he replied, "Oh, there's Tilghman. Don't forget Tilghman. Washington was so straightforward and earnest that he never suspected treachery. But Tilghman was alert, always watchful and the most wise of them could not circumvent Tilghman."

And he added, "I prepared the resolution of Congress presenting the young man with a horse, saddle, bridle and sword, in the name of the people of the United States, and I never wrote a paper that came more directly from my heart than did that resolution." Colonel Tilghman was an aid on Washington's staff and as military secretary to the general was in a position where his fidelity and watchfulness were useful.

The Cabal collapsed completely and afterwards all were heartily ashamed of it. Even Conway, when he thought he was about to die, wrote an apology to Washington for the part he had taken.

CHAPTER XVII

THE PEACE OF PARIS AND CONDITIONS LEADING TO THE FRENCH ALLIANCE

No chapter in American history has been as much written and none is as poorly understood as that which relates to the friendship of France for the colonies, the assistance secretly given, and the alliance that followed.

The Peace of Paris in 1763 left France beaten, humiliated, and deeply in debt. England on the contrary, flushed with success, was naturally arrogant, dominating and many times unreasonable. The Seven Years' War had been a glorious period for British armies. On land and sea they had been victorious. Her generals and her admirals had returned as conquering heroes, and the Peace of Paris was made entirely on terms laid down by British Statesmen.

France had been required to give up Canada, Cape Breton, Acadia and many of her island possessions, and had been compelled to submit to the humiliating condition that Dunkirk, her great coast defense city should level her fortifications. And more than this; she had to submit to the presence of a British Commissioner, who should reside in Dunkirk to see that no move was made looking to rebuilding them.

Beaten down and deeply humiliated as they were, the French statesmen had not all given up hope of evening things with England, their enemy from an early day. Mr. Carroll was in both London and Paris when the subject of the Seven Years' War was under constant discussion. He heard every phase presented; and saw the question from every possible

angle. A close student of economics, the science of government, as well as the history of the times and prospectively the wealthiest man of America; he was questioned, consulted, persuaded, and posted by every party in both England and France.

From the time of the first Stamp Act and the kindred legislation of the period; and the restlessness that followed, he had felt sure that a great war between England and the American Colonies had to come; and he believed that the colonies were destined soon to become a great country independent of Great Britain. Feeling this with such positiveness, his every effort was in promoting the best interests of the colonies in preparing for the conflict he saw so clearly.

He became well acquainted with Vergennes, afterwards head of the French Department of Foreign Affairs, but at that time Minister to Turkey, and later to Sweden. A close relative of Vergennes, either a younger brother or a nephew, was a classmate of Mr. Carroll at LeGrand College in Paris; and he was thus enabled to have frequent and friendly talks with both the Vergennes in respect to the conditions and aspirations of the colonies. In this way he laid the foundations of the warm friendship Vergennes constantly showed to the colonies.

In England while his close association was with Pitt, Burke and other Whig leaders, he also frequently met and heard the views of statesmen like Lord North and Germain, and pamphleteers like Ben Johnson. In fact he let no opportunity escape, where it was possible to learn a fact or make a friend that might be useful to the colonies. With the foundation thus laid and such a fund of information, there is no wonder that he early began to scheme for a French alliance.

This friendship and alliance was planned, promoted

and consummated by three men Washington, Franklin and Carroll. Others who helped were mere instruments in the hands of the trio that did the work. Both Washington and Franklin thought at first that Mr. Carroll should go to France as a commissioner but both fully agreed with him afterwards that this would not be politic or advantageous. In a talk with them in the early stages of the effort Mr. Carroll said, " I am the one man that must be kept entirely in the background. It must not be known to a single soul that I am personally active in this matter."

Arthur Lee, the first commissioner sent to France made no progress and really did our cause harm. Through Mr. Carroll Washington had been able to give Lee many valuable leads and to put him in close touch with the right influence and interest. By this time the people of the colonies were resting their hopes of success mainly on Washington himself. The Congress was weak, vascillating, and impatient; without power to do much; and many eminent men on this account refused a membership in the body. Mr. Carroll, though most of the time a member of both the State and National bodies, evidently always attached greater importance to his position as a Maryland Senator than to anything the United Colonies or the United States could offer. But Lee went to Paris as a Commissioner of the Congress and with letters and instructions from Washington. His only progress was with Vergennes and those that surrounded him. In this he had the advantage of the friendly feeling created by Mr. Carroll. The long journey to Canada gave Mr. Carroll and Dr. Franklin the opportunity to go freely and frequently into all phases of the French situation. This they did with such frequency and earnestness that Judge Chase, their fellow Commissioner to Canada several times reminded them that it

was the Canadian situation rather than the French scheme that required immediate attention. Franklin and Silas Deane were sent as additional Commissioners to France, and Franklin went with every bit of information and every argument that Mr. Carroll could give him.

Mr. Carroll never agreed with those who attributed sordid or other improper motives to either Lee or Deane. He believed Lee to have been irascible and temperamentably unfit for the work and regarded Deane as a good merchant, but wanting in elements of diplomacy or tact. Dr. Franklin did the work and did it on lines laid out by Mr. Carroll and supported by Washington.

Those were days of bitter prejudices on religious matters. No one understood this better than Mr. Carroll. He felt that if it was understood and known that a Roman Catholic was exerting himself to influence a Catholic King to come to the aid of the country, a howl of Romanism would go up from every quarter of the land. Not only would the Loyalist party use it to the disadvantage of the Patriots, but half the Patriot party would rather see the cause lost than be under obligations to a Catholic country and a Catholic King for success.

Among the loyalists the French Alliance was regarded as a horror and an infamy far worse than the Declaration of Independence. That Protestant colonists should ally themselves for the purpose of making war upon their own faithful and loving mother, England, was a depth of degradation to which they declared, they had thought it impossible for Americans to descend. They saw in it nothing but ruin, and the Romanizing of America under despotic government.

John Adams who did harm in France by his blundering and John Jay, able patriot and bigot as he was, could not understand the alliance or the causes which brought it about. And, as it was, the loyalists screamed Romanism every time the aid of France was mentioned and insisted that if Louis XVI helped us, he would exact a cession of territory on this continent as a reward. After the treaty with France was concluded showing the greatest magnanimity which one nation ever extended to another, men like Jay and Adams believed for a time that there must be some secret clause or private understanding which would insure to France some substantial return; and which would in some way be to our disadvantage, or to the advantage of the Catholic Church. So narrow were the prejudices of the day that men broad and able in other matters, could see the image of the Pope in every shadow that flitted across their paths.

On account of this peculiar condition Mr. Carroll resolved to keep entirely out of the public eye so far as possible where the alliance was concerned, but men like Mr. J. H. B. Labrobe and others who knew, believed that the friendship of France never could have been secured nor the alliance formed but for the effective work done by Mr. Carroll. Mr. Bushrod Washington, who had talked the matter over many times with his brother, was clearly of the same opinion, and in the expression of this he doubtless reflected the views of General Washington himself.

Mr. Carroll was with Washington during the war more than any other man in civil life. During the terrible days of Valley Forge, Mr. Carroll spent months with the great Commander, aiding him with his presence, advice, and money.

When Charles Carroll of Carrollton returned to the Province of Maryland in 1765, he found George

Washington one of the close friends of the family. The intimacy then commenced, extended without a break until the death of the great Virginian.

Mr. Latrobe also firmly believed that if the Conway Cabal had succeeded in removing General Washington, Mr. Carroll would have withdrawn his support from the cause; that the French aid and alliance would have been lost and that the whole effort at independence would have collapsed. Mr. Latrobe received much of his information from Mr. Carroll, but also had a great deal from his father, who was an active and efficient participant in the events of those days. And above all he had the opportunity of going over the whole matter, fully and freely with LaFayette. This he did not casually as the average man might, but with the care of a trained writer and thinker, who was preparing the life of Charles Carroll of Carrollton.

LaFayette knowing this and out of the esteem he had for his friend, the elder Latrobe, gave the young man the advantage of every detail he could recall and on his return to France sent him copies of many papers which he thought might be of interest in connection with the work on which he was engaged.

CHAPTER XVIII

FURTHER DETAILS OF THE FRIENDSHIP OF, AND ALLIANCE WITH FRANCE

In tracing our relations with France, the next step introduces to us one of the most interesting characters ever presented even by France, the country of interesting people. This is Seur de Beaumarchais, our first friend at the French court in a practical way.

Beaumarchais, though much berated and quite as much envied, was a very remarkable man. His real name was Carnon. He was the son of a watchmaker and learned that trade himself. Though the second son, he was selected to follow in the footsteps of his father, and carry on the business. He turned out to be a most excellent mechanic and made some valuable inventions in the construction of watches. The Carnon watches became famous and the most distinguished people of France came to his shop. But making time pieces was altogether too slow an occupation for this gifted and ambitious young man. He took the name of Beaumarchais, bought fashionable clothes, got introductions; and introduced himself into society, and soon became every where a favorite. He studied languages, science and history. Naturally brilliant and thoroughly accomplished he soon became a favorite and succeeded in winning his way to royal favor. By the year 1774, he had attained a position where he not only was received in court circles, but was one of the most influential of those that had the ear of Louis XVI. Mr. Carroll never met Beaumarchais but knew him well through La Fon, one of the men who looked after the Carroll interests in Paris as Perkins did in London. La Fon saw in Beau-

marchais a man who could be of great use in helping the cause of the colonies. Able, resolute, romantic and ambitious, the colonial situation appealed to him and he studied it assiduously and carefully. His interest and influence were reported to this country and La Fon put him in touch with Arthur Lee, the Colonial Commissioner in Paris. But the two did not get on well. That is Lee did not get on well with Beaumarchais. But La Fon encouraged and cultivated the latter, and he presented the American situation to the King, and really did a great deal more for the colonies than did Lee. In this work La Fon was aided greatly by Thomas Donnelly, another of Mr. Carroll's Paris agents.

Louis XVI was a man, mentally and morally much better than his kind of that day. Undoubtedly he had in view above all things the best interests of France. At this period he faced a serious and complex problem on which his advisers were at odds. On the one hand it was argued that above all things France needed a long period of rest and recuperation and that nothing should be done that might lead to another war with England.

Through the influence of Beaumarchais and Vergennes the sympathy of the King was now strongly with the colonies. The Seven Years' War had been a struggle for colonial possessions and France had lost. She had still important colonial interests and her ally, Spain, had much greater. By helping separate the American Colonies from England that country would be greatly weakened; but what further effect would the success of the American revolution have? Wouldn't it make Mexico, South and Central America as well as the rich West India Islands also want to become separate countries. Could France and Spain afford to help make revolution successful? This was a time

when religion played a big part in political movements, and the enemies of the American cause put it another way. If you help separate the colonies from Great Britain, will you not be building up a country destined to become another powerful Protestant nation?

Can Catholic France afford to stand god-mother for a country pretty sure to become a great Protestant nation? To all this, men like Vergennes, Beaumarchais and La Fon answered that the American Nation was destined to be a land of liberty and opportunity; where no religion would be prescribed and no one permitted to suffer on account of his religion. Then there was something else to consider. The talk about liberty and the natural rights of man was becoming general in France. One writer has said the idea of liberty was whispered in the time of Louis XIV, talked out loud in the time of Louis XV and screamed from the house-top in the time of Louis XVI. Though this screaming point had not yet been reached there was enough talk of liberty in France, to make it a serious matter for the King to go to the aid of a distant people struggling for liberty.

But it is undoubtedly true that the King honestly sympathized, and sympathized deeply, with the American Colonies. That this sympathy was greatly increased by his hatred of England is equally true. He was in a frame of mind to listen favorably and Beaumarchais was the man to present a plan. And it should be kept in mind that as severely as Beaumarchais has been criticized nothing came out to convict him of dishonest practices. He was in full sympathy with Americans, but was entirely willing to turn that sympathy to good commercial account. Nothing worse can be said of him truthfully. So he went on to develop his plan. France should advance 1,000,000

francs and through the influence of the King a like sum was to be advanced by Spain. With this 2,000,000 francs he would establish a great commercial house that would buy or receive free arms, munitions and equipments and sell to the colonies. In return the colonies would send to this house tobacco and other raw material that the colonies had to sell and that the French people needed. In this way the struggling continentals could be clothed, equipped and fed, while France would be building up a foreign trade at the expense of England. It took a good while to perfect all the details but the idea was plausible and practical, and men like Washington, Carroll and Franklin saw great possibilities for good in it. When the first intimation of the scheme reached this country, Mr. Carroll was with Washington at army headquarters. They doubtless talked it over and considered it from every angle. It came as a gleam of hope at a time when the situation was dark and everything seemed discouraging. The surrender of Burgoyne in the north was about the only success the colonies had really achieved for a good while. Mr. Carroll was much pleased with the prospects and was glad above all things that he had not consented to go to France or to be known in the transaction. As it was, every time there was a mention of aid from France, the Loyalist element howled Romanism and Catholic influence.

Lee, the American Commissioner and Beaumarchais conferred, arranged and negotiated. Beaumarchais leased a hotel and prepared to do business in a big way. The great mercantile house of Roderique Hortalez & Co. was a fixed fact and business with the Colonies was opened. From the first Lee blustered and blundered. He and Beaumarchais each distrusted the other, but business proceeded. Of course England could find no grievance in a commercial house selling

goods to the Colonies. There was nothing to show that the King had anything to do with it. The French officers who wanted to enter the Continental army became a nuisance — at least to Beaumarchais. With money in hand and the government arsenals to draw on without having to pay Roderique Hortalez & Co. was in a position to do a flourishing business; and it did. Lee agreed to provide ships to transport the munitions but failed to do so. Beaumarchais then provided ships. The first one sailed with a cargo of such munitions as were needed worst in the Colonies. Just as Beaumarchais was breathing easy with the feeling that business had now commenced, the ship returned. One of the French officers didn't like his quarters on the ship and had compelled the captain to come back. This matter was adjusted and other troubles arising were also met and business went on.

Beaumarchais sent bills to Congress asking that tobacco and other raw materials be returned in payment. Lee wrote to Congress that the cargoes were gifts from the King, that the business house was a mere blind to fool Great Britain and that no payment should be made. In the effort to magnify his own importance and acts Lee bungled the whole thing and did much harm. Congress had no tobacco to send and no way to get it except to induce the States to provide. In this condition it was easy for its members to be persuaded that no payment should be made. Silas Deane had arrived in the meantime and had been in frequent conference with Beaumarchais. Deane tried to negotiate a loan from Vergennes, but was referred to Beaumarchais and the general mix-up grew worse, but the House of Roderique Hortalez & Co. kept on sending supplies to America and charging them to the account of the Continental Congress.

In October, Congress had elected Franklin, Deane

and Lee to represent the country in France with instructions to them to secure aid in money and munitions on the best terms, and in the most advantageous manner they could. Franklin arrived in Paris, December 21st. Both Lee and Deane were jealous of him as well as of each other, but he was a man able to grasp and manage the situation. He encouraged Beaumarchais to forward his supplies. Beaumarchais wasn't taking much chance as he got his stock without cost and had in hand 2,000,000 francs, about $400,000, to defray expenses. He undoubtedly figured on what he should get from America in return, as his profits. And the King in his friendly, easy-going way, was willing to let it go at that.

But England was so alarmed at the course of things and so strongly suspected that aid was being extended by the French that there need be no valid objection to an open alliance. Franklin had all the points that Mr. Carroll could give him, all the information that La Fon had accumulated and Beaumarchais was ready to help all he could.

Franklin's arrival was in the midst of all this bustle and blundering. His arrival created great interest as he was known to the French people as one of the world's great scientists. One writer said of him, " he has a most pleasing expression, very little hair and a fur cap."

He took up his lodgings with Silas Deane and began looking into affairs. Beaumarchais was anxious but cheerful. He was always cheerful. But Franklin didn't bother much about Beaumarchais or Hortalez & Co. He probably thought it easiest and safest to let Lee, Deane, Congress and Beaumarchais fight it out. What he was most interested in was getting money from the French and forming an alliance that would be to the advantage of the two countries.

Franklin through Vergennes and others soon succeeded in getting the King to advance two million of francs. This was in addition to what Beaumarchais had received and was made as a gift to the colonial cause. Franklin was successful in securing funds and his negotiations for a treaty were well received while the French watched the progress of affairs with great interest. Finally on the 16th of December, M. Gerard, in behalf of France, informed the American commissioners that His Majesty had determined to acknowledge the independence of and to enter into a treaty of commerce and alliance with the United States of America and that he would not only acknowledge the independence, but would support it with all the means in his power.

On the 6th of February, 1778, a treaty of commerce and a treaty of defensive alliance in case war should be the consequences, was signed by representatives of the two countries and the compact that assured the independence of the Colonies was cemented.

France made loans to the Americans of three million francs in 1778, one million in 1779, and four million in 1880. The loans were of inestimable advantage. The credit of Congress was so low that it was practically impossible for the American representatives to borrow money in Europe. They were embarrassed also by the representatives of the States who were trying to secure separate loans.

Early in the year 1781, in requesting a loan, Franklin said "I am growing old. I feel myself much enfeebled by my late illness, and it is probable I shall not long have any more concern in these affairs. I therefore take this occasion to express my opinion to your Excellency that the present conjunction is critical; that there is some danger lest the Congress should lose its influence over the people, if it is found

unable to procure the aids that are wanted, and that the whole system of the new government in America may be thereby shaken; that if the English are suffered once to recover that country such an opportunity of effectual separation as the present may not occur again in the course of ages." To this appeal Vergennes replied that on account of the great expense France was under in the war, she was not able to make the loan, but that the King himself would give six millions of francs as a free gift, in addition to three millions which he had given before.

But notwithstanding this gift and in spite of the low condition of the treasury a further loan of four million of francs was made in 1781, and in the same year Holland loaned our government ten million of francs on the indorsement of the King of France. In 1782 France loaned us six million more and six million again in 1783. The United States received from France by gifts of the King and by loans and by the guarantee of the King an aggregate of over forty-four million of francs.

In his life of Franklin, Parton, speaking of this source of supply said, "Never did he (Franklin) apply in vain. Never was he obliged to defer the payment of a draft for an hour. So ardent was the King in our support in 1779 that Maurepas said "It is fortunate for the King that Lafayette does not take it into his head to strip Versailles of its furniture, to send to his dear Americans, as his Majesty would be unable to refuse it."

Besides the gifts and loans here mentioned a large amount of supplies was donated so that Mr. Pickering, our Secretary of State, in a message to the American Minister in Paris in 1797 said, "All the loans and supplies received from France during the American war amounted to fifty-three million francs. This did not

include the account of Beaumarchais nor the free gifts of the King."

Recalling this aid lavishly given at a time when it was so badly needed, and when we further recall that on the way to meet Cornwallis at Yorktown, where the final struggle was made, the continentals were in such need of money that Washington induced Rochambeau, the French commander, to open his own strong box and pay the American troops, that wholesale desertion might be prevented; and when we remember that at Yorktown the French soldiers outnumbered the Americans and the French fleet really turned the tide in our favor and gave us the victory — when we remember all these things we are prone to ask ourselves if victory over the British could have been achieved without the aid of the French. Mr. Latrobe asked Mr. Carroll this question the day after Lafayette's departure in 1824 and the venerable statesman and Christian answered simply, " It was the Lord's will."

CHAPTER XIX

ROBERT MORRIS WITH THE AID OF CARROLL AND OTHERS SAVES THE FINANCIAL SITUATION

In 1781 conditions in the colonies were about as bad as they could well be. The armies were unpaid, discouraged and mutinous. One mutiny after another had been suppressed, and little hope of better things could be held out.

Congress and the cause was absolutely bankrupt, Washington was not only greatly discouraged but he was almost ruined financially. The paper money of the colonies had reached a point where it could not be passed at any rate of discount. The gradual but continued depreciation had been the cause of ruin in all directions. People who had large amounts due them had to submit to being paid off in a currency so depreciated that it took one hundred dollars of it to buy what one dollar of hard money would pay for. Outside of lands and slaves Washington's great fortune was largely invested in mortgages and notes in Virginia. His debtors were prompt to settle his claims and pay off his mortgages when they could do so with paper money obtainable at the rate of a hundred dollars for one dollar in coin. Ruination was met everywhere and something had to be done. England had held that when the paper money became worthless by reason of the immense amount of it, the war would have to end; and it looked that way.

Robert Morris was a member of Congress, but was also a successful merchant in Philadelphia. He had been sending out privateers and had been trading with the merchants of France, Spain and Holland; and was regarded as a successful man at a time when so many

were losing all they had. Washington turned to this successful merchant and urged him to undertake the financial redemption of the colonies. Here again the reliable Carroll and faithful Tilghman were on hand. Robert Morris, born in Liverpool, had come to Maryland when a small boy, and was raised in the same county and in the same part of the county where Tilghman was born. When Tilghman went to Philadelphia he naturally sought out the only man there from his immediate locality. They became friends and Tilghman had great faith in the ability of this friend, who had been so successful in his own business.

The paper money disaster that carried down so many men of wealth had not hurt Mr. Carroll, though he had great sums due him these were mostly payable, not in dollars, but in pounds of tobacco, a custom that had prevailed in Maryland since its settlement. Though the custom was now passing away Mr. Carroll thought it expedient to revive it, and to a great extent did so in his transactions during this period when the value of a dollar was so uncertain.

At the earnest wish of Washington a committee of Congress took up the question of money with Mr. Morris. He had been too busy with his own affairs to give much time to the public of late. Carroll, Morris and Chase talked the matter over fully with one or two others. All except Chase were men of big business interests. They agreed that the finances must be put on a specific basis. That much was easy; but how was it to be done? As a result of many interviews and much discussion Robert Morris agreed to become the fiscal agent of the government. Tilghman's belief that Robert Morris could save the day had much to do with impressing Washington. This confidence of Tilghman was so thorough that it further cemented the friendship between him and Robert Morris, so that when the

Revolutionary War was over Tilghman became a member of the Robert Morris firm, and was the Baltimore manager for the house at the time of his death, which occurred while Washington, Carroll and most of his older associates were still living.

But, urged by Washington, Carroll, Tilghman and others, Robert Morris undertook the task of putting the business of the colonies on a specific basis, which meant paying the men and buying supplies with gold and silver. While the conferences were going on Morris was working out his schemes and had arranged them in advance and canvassed them with Carroll and his other associates.

Samuel Adams protested against the selection of Robert Morris as fiscal agent and against acting on the advice of Washington in such a matter. In fact the whole clan that had sought the destruction of the commander-in-chief, or had connived at it, were still crying out against the " exaltation of Washington," as they called it. But the other faction led by Carroll and Chase had its way, and Morris was selected and was given broad authority in the management of the rickety financial situation.

He organized The Bank of North America, an institution still in existence in Philadelphia, and with this bank he proposed to gather enough coin to meet the payments of the United States as they had to be made. He had three sources on which to base his hopes. He could secure deposits in coin from the wealthy men of the colonies, but he could not rely on any great sum in this way. Some of the colonies were making subscriptions of tobacco and other produce. These he would send to the West Indies and sell for coin. Then there was another loan from France which Laurens was bringing over. This loan, handled as a man like Morris could handle it, saved the day. The other two

items helped a great deal, but it was a proper handling of the coin from France that really met the situation. Men like Carroll, Hancock, Washington, Jefferson, Chase and Johnson sent all the coin to Morris that they could gather. Mr. Hancock was at that time Governor of Massachusetts and Mr. Jefferson, Governor of Virginia. Morris was abused and traduced by the clique that was fighting Washington and by the holders of paper money, who felt bitter towards any one connected with the finances. A mob in the streets of Philadelphia tarred and feathered a dog and covvered him with the worthless Continental notes to show their indignation.

But the Bank of North America prospered and is in existence to-day, the only National bank in the country that was not required to change its name by inserting the word "National." It still holds the original charter issued by the Continental Congress and also has a charter from the State of Pennsylvania and one from our present National Government. The courtesy of not being required to change its name was extended to it by the government on account of the patriotic associations of its early career. What Washington was in war and Carroll in civil life, Robert Morris and the Bank of North America were in the financial salvation of the colonies.

The mistakes and blunders of Cornwallis, now in command of the British armies of the South, were so many and so glaring that Washington believed that if the troops could be paid so that deserters and mutiny could be prevented, a fatal blow at the enemy could be struck. Morris received the gold from France and did everything possible to make the most of it. He piled it high in the bank windows during the day, and had men moving it from place to place in order to impress the people with the great resources of the government.

Not long before this the members of the Maryland legislature after trying in every direction to raise supplies determined to make such personal contributions as they were able. The more prosperous of them had been constant in their aid in various ways since the beginning of the struggle. But now, with every prospect that the scene of activity would be removed to the Chesapeake Bay, the need of money and supplies became more pressing than ever. The members were not poor men, for one had to be possessed of an estate to the value of $5,000 to make him eligible to the position. But men who had estates found it hard to get money even for their personal requirements. But the demand on the State was pressing and each member did his best. Many made their contributions in paper money, the only currency they could command. Others made the more substantial contribution of one, two, three or five hogsheads of tobacco. But Mr. Carroll contributed ten hogsheads of tobacco, the largest contribution made by any member. Most of this duly reached Morris at Philadelphia or was delivered for shipment to one of his trading ships for transportation to a point where it could be converted into coin.

The new methods of financing duly impressed the country and the impression soon reached the army and the people who held unpaid claims for supplies. The mere fact that Robert Morris said the claims would be paid in gold made the claimants much better satisfied to wait. Morris directed the payment first of all the small claims that were duly certified. He said that ten men with a claim of one pound each would make ten times as much noise as one man with a ten-pound claim. He made part payments on the large claims and soon had the situation well in hand. He could not

replenish the strong box of Washington as he desired and as it required, but things were much improved.

Mr. Carroll made many trips from Washington to Morris and back and it seemed for a time that Congress was completely ignored. Mr. Carroll had long been disgusted and disappointed at the way many members of Congress seemed to view so serious a situation. Nearly two years before he had written to Johnson at Annapolis from York, Pa., " I wish you would employ some ingenius writer to combat and exploit the perfidiousness of our enemies; they stop at nothing — the whole British nation seems rising against us; they will unite every force to conquer us. I am persuaded they will send over, during the course of the summer and fall at least 16,000 men principally British. Is it not strange that the lust of dominion should force the British nation to greater exertions than our desire of liberty can produce among us? " and he concludes this letter by saying " The Congress does worse than ever, we murder time and chat it away on idle and impertinent talk; however, I hope the urgency of affairs will teach even this body a little discretion."

At that time as well as at the period a little later the weakness shown by Congress seemed to cause the people more than ever to place their reliance on Washington and those who were so valiantly supporting him. Only close friends like Mr. Carroll, Lafayette and Tilghman knew the burden under which he was staggering.

John Henry of Maryland was another staunch friend of Washington and an earnest co-worker with Mr. Carroll. He supplemented the letter just quoted by writing to the Governor " the state of the army is most critical. Four months' pay if not more is due

them; and no money in the treasury to satisfy their just and reasonable demands."

This condition which prevailed everywhere continued to grow worse till the situation was taken in hand and the life of the nation saved by Morris and his associates.

CHAPTER XX

THE WAR NEARING AN END — MR. CARROLL'S INTEREST IN THE MARYLAND LINE

Mr. Carroll continued to give his time mainly to the service of the State. The shifting of the scenes of the war from the South as well as from the North to the Chesapeake Bay made the duties in connection with State affairs all the more exacting.

Cornwallis, having moved to northern Virginia, and with indications that Washington and Rochambeau would attack him there, and thus bring the war once more to the very borders of Maryland, made matters here still more interesting.

Finances were in better shape by reason of contracts now being made in gold and silver; and people at least could tell what they owed, what was owed to them, and what they had lost.

With a French army under Gen. Rochambeau larger than the army of Washington aiding us, and being paid out of its own strong box brought over from France, our cause was in much better, but far from a satisfactory condition. It was with the utmost effort and with liberal personal contributions that money could be raised to pay the Maryland troops. Robert Morris and his bank were doing much, enough to save the day, but things had got in such a terrible condition that with all this the troops were in a pretty bad way.

News reached Annapolis of the movement against Cornwallis, who had taken a position at Yorktown. Washington and Rochambeau had found means to transport their armies to the new theatre of operations and the great fight of the war, the decisive battle

was likely to be fought. This news and much more, some reliable and a good deal groundless, was constantly reaching Annapolis.

The Maryland division numbering something of over 2,000 men, had been ordered by Washington, with the consent of Congress, to go south. They marched from Morristown, N. J., to Elk River, Maryland, where arrangements had been made for their embarkation south. Charles Carroll of Carrollton met the troops at the point which is now Elkton and spent two days with De Kalb and the regimental commanders. Just what the nature and purpose of this visit was is not known, but in some way it undoubtedly concerned the payment of the men. However, the troops were sent on ships seized by the State to North Carolina.

Much news had come of the late movements and hardships endured by the Maryland troops, and serious criticism of Gates, who had been appointed to the command of the army of the South independent of Washington. Gen. Otho Williams of Baltimore, who was adjutant on De Kalb's staff, tried to make some suggestions to Gates, but they were coldly received. Williams was a friend of Carroll and Carroll had offended him by his loyal stand for Washington and Gates had no use for Williams.

The record shows pretty clearly that if Gates had listened to Gen. Williams, he could have saved the men much suffering and himself the humiliation that followed and culminated in a disastrous campaign and the death of Baron De Kalb. The Maryline Line lost over six hundred of its two thousand men.

Washington announced the disaster of Camden and the defeat of Gates to Gov. Lee of Maryland. He also wrote Charles Carroll of Carrollton, "Maryland has made great exertions, but she can still do something more." A stirring appeal was made by the

Governor, Mr. Carroll and others, and seven hundred recruits were mustered in. By earnest efforts of private citizens a considerable amount of stores and money were also collected.

In October Congress displaced Gates and appointed Gen. Green to the command of the Army of the South. This appointment was made on the recommendation of Gen. Washington and gave great satisfaction to Mr. Carroll and others fond of Washington. It helped to relieve the anxiety in Maryland for there was a feeling, and strong assurances that the Maryland Line would get better treatment than it had received from Gates.

All these things and many more had taken place and had culminated in the condition mentioned when Corwallis, the British commander, found himself at Yorktown, Virginia, and the armies of Washington and Rochambeau seeking to give battle to him.

The news of the surrender of Cornwallis reached Annapolis almost as soon as it did Philadelphia. Colonel Tilghman had been dispatched by Washington to carry the news to the Congress. He came up on the west side of the Chesapeake Bay riding as long as a horse could go and then getting a fresh horse and still on till he reached the mouth of the Patuxent River where Franklin's púngy carried him to the Eastern Shore. As each new relay was required Tilghman called out "A horse for the Continental Congress. Cornwallis is taken" and right quickly the horse was furnished. In this way he made the trip from Yorktown to Philadelphia in four days. Reaching the Eastern Shore at 2 o'clock in the morning he could hardly be persuaded to sleep till day light. He reached Philadelphia well worn out but able to go with Congress to the old Dutch Church to

give thanks for the victory that had crowned the efforts of the Colonial forces.

As Mr. Carroll was about to start for Philadelphia news came that Gen. Clinton with a heavy fleet and half his army from New York was in Chesapeake Bay. He had arrived too late to save Cornwallis but it was feared that he could lay waste Maryland cities liable to attack by sea. But the panic in Maryland was soon quieted for finding efforts in behalf of Cornwallis useless and fearful that the French fleet aiding the Americans might attack New York the British abandoned the Chesapeake as suddenly as it had appeared and returned to the defense of New York.

Mr. Carroll believed that the surrender of Cornwallis would end the war and so assured his neighbors and associates.

But letters from Tilghman said that Washington was preparing for another campaign and as winter was approaching provisions must be made for supplying the troops with food till next spring.

Mr. Carroll read every item of news from England with the greatest interest. He heard of the downfall of Lord North's ministry with great satisfaction and hoped for a speedy termination of hostilities. But he realized that our own affairs were so complicated with those of France that a treaty of peace would have to be made with both France and the United States at the same time. This delay meant that the troops must be paid and fed. It would not do to assume that the war was over and relax a single effort. All were agreed on that.

On the 4th of March 1782 the House of Commons practically resolved against further effort to prosecute the war in North America. But still the treaty of peace was not signed and the troops must be kept ready for action. At the beginning of this year not a

dollar was in the National Treasury. Soldiers and contractors clamored for money and Washington was almost discouraged. But Mr. Carroll and his associates realized that the Maryland boys had to be looked after and did their best to make the army hardships as light as possible. The feeling that it was nearly over and that all would soon return to their homes made the delays even more irritating.

But finally news came that the treaty had been signed, peace reigned and the army would be disbanded. On the 19th of April 1782, just eight years from the date of the battle of Lexington which began the struggle, a proclamation was issued to the army declaring that the war was over.

Though in no sense a bigot Mr. Carroll always delighted in recalling the part which people of the Catholic faith took in achieving our independence. In connection with the close of the war it has been sometimes recalled but not often if ever printed that nearly if not quite 70 per cent of the men who won the battle of Yorktown for our cause and practically ended the war with Great Britain were men professing the Roman Catholic religion. At first glance you wonder how this could be knowing that the Catholics at the time formed but a small per cent of the population. But you will recall that the Army of Count Rochambeau of about 8,000 and the men in De Grasse fleet some 2,000 were Catholic while Washington's Army numbered some 10,000 of whom many were Irish, French and Colonial Catholics. So it is well within bounds to say that 70 per cent of the force that captured Cornwallis was made up of Catholics.

Joseph Galloway of Philadelphia who held various offices under the crown before the Parliamentary Commission in London of which Burke was chairman, when asked if the rebel army was made up of native

Americans replied: The names and places of nativity were taken down and I can answer with precision nearly one-half were Irish Catholic, one-fourth were Scotch and English and one-fourth native Americans."

Major General Robertson the British Commander testifying before the same Commission said "I remember General Lee telling me that half the rebel army were Irish Catholics."

CHAPTER XXI

EARLY DAYS OF PEACE — THE NEW GOVERNMENT — MR CARROLL A UNITED STATES SENATOR

Peace being restored, Mr. Carroll felt the necessity for giving some of his time to his business affairs. The Baltimore Iron Works received attention first. A letter from the manager, Mr. Clement Brooke, was transmitted to the stockholders with the observation that "the works if carried on with spirit, and managed to the greatest advantage, might certainly be made profitable; at present they hardly clear themselves. How to improve so improvable an estate, is the object of the proposed meeting." At the meeting a new policy was inaugurated that proved profitable.

As usual on the meeting of the the Assembly Nov. 3rd there was no quorum of the Senate. In fact Charles Carroll of Carrollton was the only Senator on hand. After waiting some days he left the city and on the day of the quorum the 22nd, was not there but returned to his seat a day or two later. The Chevalier d'Annemous, Consul General of France came to Annapolis to adjust some matters between his office and the state. Charles Carroll of Carrollton and George Plater represented the Senate on the committee which made these adjustments.

An address to General Washington was issued by a committee of the Senate and House. Charles Carroll of Carrollton and John Henry represented the Senate and Mr. Carroll performed most of the work of preparing the address. Daniel Carroll, President of the Senate, being ill, it was necessary to elect a new President and Charles Carroll of Carrollton was selected.

At this session The Susquehanna Consul was incorporated with Samuel Hughes, Augustine Washington, Henry Lee, Charles Carroll of Carrollton and others as proprietors.

John Henry and Charles Carroll of Carrollton were the members of a joint committee to prepare and present an address to General Lafayette, which was done.

Some years before a company had been formed under the name of The Potomac Company, the object being to open and extend the navigation of the Potomac River. The war had retarded this work but now it was deemed desirable to take it up again. For this purpose the Assembly appointed a committee composed of Thomas Stone, Samuel Hughes and Charles Carroll. The State of Virginia appointed General Washington and Gen. Gates and these formed the joint committee of the two States. This committee perfected the plans and a new Potomac Company was organized with Gen. Washington as president and the Stoles of Virginia and Maryland each subscribed for stock. A road was also to be built from the head waters of the Potomac to the Ohio River, a distance of forty miles.

A credit bill was passed but it did not meet the approval of Mr. Carroll who filed a sharp dissenting opinion.

The disputed boundary between Maryland and Virginia had not been settled. A committee was named to meet a similar committee from Virginia. Instructions to the Maryland members were prepared by a committee of which Mr. Carroll was chairman. This joint committee met at Alexandria, adjourned to Mt. Vernon and there formed the commercial compact which finally led to the commercial union that ultimately resulted in the convention which formed the

Constitution that so changed the character of the relations which the thirteen States bore to each other.

The trouble over the Maryland investment in the stock of the Bank of England had not been settled. Samuel Chase who had been sent to London to collect it had not succeeded. He handed in his commission to defray expenses and this was allowed the sum being 500. Charles Carroll and Edward Lloyd voted against the allowance. The matter of removing the disability of the Tories was discussed but Mr. Carroll thought the time for this had not yet come.

The repeal of laws repugnant to the treaty of peace were in order and these with the bank stock trouble and a debtors bill took up a good deal of the time of the session.

A Federal Convention was to meet in Philadelphia April 23. Mr. Carroll was elected a delegate but declined to serve on account of a pressure of public and private business. About this time Charles Carroll of Carrollton became deeply interested in a project for establishing a Jesuit College in Georgetown. Mr. Carroll headed the list of gentlemen in Maryland who were to solicit subscriptions.

His son Charles was sent abroad in 1785 to be educated in Europe as his father and other Carrolls before him had been.

A family picture shows the departure of young Charles and the portraits are said to be very good. Patrick, the colored boy, about the same age as the departing son, shows in the picture. This Patrick was the father of Patrick, the family servant, of the Carrolls, known to so many of the present generation.

Mary Carroll was married to Richard Caton, an Englishman, who had settled in Maryland.

In 1788 the Maryland Senate had before it the work of the late Federal Convention. A committee of four

to report on the proposed Constitution was named and included Charles Carroll of Carrollton and Daniel Carroll. It was decided after some controversy to hold a convention to consider the Constitution of the United States which had been prepared. This convention was made up of members elected the 3rd Monday of January and it met in Annapolis in the following March. The act calling the convention provided that if it indorsed the Constitution notice to that effect should be given to the Congress. There was much opposition but the Constitution was finally ratified and notice to that effect was accordingly given to Comgress. One party known as the Federalists were vigorously in favor of adopting the Constitution as presented and this party had its way throughout. It is pretty certain that Charles Carroll of Carrollton voted with this party all along, though the record does not show much as details of the doings.

Mr. Carroll was active in the proceedings of the State Senate, serving on and doing much of the work of the most important committees.

Charles Carroll of Carrollton was elected a United States Senator to represent the State of Maryland. John Henry was the other Senator and the delegates to the Lower House of Congress were Daniel Carroll, William Smith and George Gale. The Congress of 1789 which was the first under the Federal Constitution met in the city of New York. All the Maryland delegation except Senator Henry had rooms in the house No. 52 Smith Street. The Senate sat with closed doors and the records of its doings are very meager. Only actual results after the conclusions had been reached are of record. Mr. Carroll took his seat April 13th and was made a member of the Judiciary Committee.

The questions of titles for the President and other

officials came up. Mr. Carroll was opposed to such official designations and his views prevailed. There was a heated discussion over the question of Congress accompanying the President to St. Paul's Church and attending divine service. Mr. Carroll did not regard the discussion worth the time that was given to it and refused to vote against the motion. He didn't oppose, and went to church. He was a Federalist and the Federalists were mostly on the side of going to church with the President and the other party then designated as the Republican Federalists opposed the act. Mr. Carroll was a Federalist and stood with his party.

In connection with the inauguration of the President, some matters of precedent came up when one of the members explained what etiquette in England called for. Mr. Carroll answered that it made no difference whatever, how they did things in England, as that country was no longer a precedent for them.

The first social function by the new President was a box party at the theatre May 11th. The guests were the Governor of New York, the French and Spanish Ministers and ten Senators, both the Maryland Senators, Charles Carroll of Carrollton and John Henry being of the party. A number of ladies were also guests and the play was " The School for Scandal " following a curtain raiser described as a screaming farce " The Old Soldier."

The familiar subject of duties on imports was one of the first and most important to demand the attention of this first Congress. In fact, tariff and titles held much of the attention of the session.

Mr. Carroll took an earnest part in the work of deciding how the " advice and consent of the Senate " should be given to the President's nominations. The

motion to decide by ballot was forcibly and successfully opposed by Mr. Carroll who favored the viva voce method as the only fair one.

Mr. Carroll also opposed giving the President power of removal where the power to appoint had been with the advice and consent of the Senate. He argued earnestly that " the deposing power should be the same as the appointing power.

The act establishing Federal courts was passed. It had the support of Mr. Carroll as he was on the committee that prepared it. On the question of salaries one commenting on the doings says, " the doctrine seemed to be that all worth was wealth, and all dignity of character consisted in expensive living, but Mr. Carroll of Maryland though the richest man in the Senate was not with them."

There was a great struggle over locating the seat of government. It was decided that a district ten miles square be selected. But where?

As the Constitution was first adopted, there was no provision guaranteeing religious liberty, but the very first amendment added to the original document forbids Congress to make any law respecting the establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof. The amendment as originally prepared was that " no religion shall be established by law, neither shall the equal rights of conscience be infringed." Many of the members thought that this amendment was unnecessary inasmuch as Congress had no power delegated to it by the original Constitution to establish a national religion, and this view was probably correct; but the first Congress wished to leave no doubt on the subject. No member seems to have opposed the resolution for the amendment.

Mr. Carroll's remarks on the subject were extremely gentle and breathed the spirit of that liberty of con-

science which was one of the traditions of the State he represented. He said:

> As the rights of conscience are, in their nature, of peculiar delicacy, and will little bear the gentlest touch of the governmental hand; and as many sects have concurred in opinion, that they are not well secured under the present Constitution, he said he was much in favor of adopting the words. He thought it would tend more towards conciliating the minds of the people to the Government than almost any other amendment he had heard proposed. He would not contend with gentlemen about the phraseology, his object was to secure the substance in such a manner as to satisfy the wishes of the honest part of the community.

As Mr. Carroll was still a member of the Maryland Assembly he hurried home after the adjournment of Congress Sept. 29th. He spent the intervening time till the meeting of the Assembly at Doughoregan Manor and on the meeting of the Assembly Nov. 4th was at Annapolis and in his place as a Senator of the State of Maryland.

Mr. Paca was elected Governor. Charles Carroll of Carrollton and Mathew Tilghman were named as a committee of the Senate to draw up an address of approval and thanks to the retiring Governor.

The State appropriated the house, grounds and furniture of Governor Eden for the use of the Executive till some further determination should be reached.

Charles Carroll of Carrollton and Col. Richard Barnes were directed to inquire into a contract made by the House with Frederick Green for printing the laws of the State.

A bill to regulate the militia was passed but one to settle and pay the Civil list was rejected because the Senate considered the allowances too high. Charles

Carroll of Carrollton and James McHenry entered their "dissent."

General Rochambeau visited Annapolis in January and was most hospitably entertained at the public expense. The Assembly voted an address to him which was prepared by Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Charles Carroll, barrister, and Edward Lloyd.

The military bill afforded a cause of dispute between the two houses but was finally passed, Charles Carroll of Carrollton dissenting and filing reasons therefor.

The spring of 1783 found the gay city of Annapolis even gayer than usual. In addition to the ordinary matters of interest the Continental Congress met here and great crowds assembled to witness the proceedings of this body which were of especial interest because this year was the year that peace was declared and Annapolis as the national capital took a big part in the universal rejoicing. The great celebration took place on Carroll's green. An ox and many sheep and calves were roasted and eatables of every kind and variety were provided for the multitude. Many French officers who had participated in the war were present as the guests of Charles Carroll of Carrollton.

April 21, was the meeting day for the Maryland Senate but Charles Carroll of Carrollton was the only Senator present. Early in May a quorum was on hand and the first matter for consideration was the Articles of Peace; after which the serious and arduous work of adjusting the new government to the new condition was in order.

Charles Carroll, barrister, died at this time leaving no issue.

The Assembly provided for the accommodation of Congress by furnishing the Stadt house for meetings, with the Governor's house for the President and

thirteen dwelling houses one for the use of the delegation from each of the thirteen States.

During the session, Charles Carroll of Carrollton filed an able and fearless paper against a bill authorizing judges to strike from the list of attorneys the names of men who had been disloyal to the government. The paper was a candid review of the conditions and was considered an able, fearless and incisive challenge of the good purposes of the law.

CHAPTER XXII

RESIGNS AS A SENATOR OF THE UNITED STATES THAT HE MAY REMAIN A SENATOR OF MARYLAND — THE INDIAN COMMERCE

The first real trouble in Congress was about providing the machinery for handling our foreign affairs. The Vice-president in his " Tales of a Traveller " showed his opinion of the importance of diplomacy and the influence of diplomats. But when the bill came to the Senate for making provision for these officers there was much opposition to such offices. Mr. Maclay of Pennsylvania did not believe in the necessity for such expenditures. He would have no ambassadors nor ministers. " They would cost a great deal and do no good " he held. The bill was finally referred to a committee composed of Senators Story, Ellsworth, Carroll, Maclay and Few. This committee met the Secretary of State, Thomas Jefferson. Maclay says Jefferson had a face with a sunny aspect, but was wanting in dignity. Evidently Mr. Jefferson was in favor of the country being represented in the other countries, for Maclay says " Jefferson had been long enough abroad to catch the tone of European folly." Finally salaries were left to the President to fix.

Then came up again the bill to fix the permanent location of the national capital. There was much excitement and some scheming. The temporary residence of the seat of government caused as much interest as the task of finding a permanent home. The House of Representatives voted for Baltimore as the temporary place. Philadelphia was a strong bidder and many Senators wanted to remain in New York till

the permanent home was selected and ready for occupancy. Mr. Carroll finally favored a bill which provided for a residence of ten years in Philadelphia after which the capital should be on the Potomac as a permanent location.

A postroad bill occupied much of Mr. Carroll's time during the remainder of the session and was evidently a matter of great importance.

The capital residence bill came up and Mr. Carroll furthered it in the Senate and Mr. Madison in the House. The President was in favor of the capital being located on the Potomac. Mr. Maclay spoke of Senators favoring the Potomac as the Carroll crowd. Mr. Maclay says it was the influence of Washington and his crowd that carried the Potomac scheme.

The funding bill and the bill providing that the general government shall assume the debts created by the States in conducting the Revolutionary War were taken up, Mr. Carroll having an active interest and doing much of the work both in the committee and on the floor of the Senate. He was usually with Mr. Hamilton. Party lines were now being drawn pretty closely with the followers of Hamilton on the one side and those of Jefferson on the other. Mr. Carroll as chairman of the committee reported in favor of a plan for the states to loan to the general government a sum not exceeding twenty-two millions of dollars.

Mr. Maclay claimed that the funding bill was the assumption bill and the rest of the financial legislation was wrapped up in the capital votes of the states having big debts that they wanted to unload on the general government. It was a case of if you will vote with us on the capital location we will vote with you on your pet financial measures. Anyway Hamilton's financial scheme and Washington's capital scheme both went through early and by much the same

influence. Mr. Carroll always on the lookout for the interest of Maryland wrote to Governor Howard suggesting that the State select an agent to look after its interest in adjusting claims with the national government.

Mr. Carroll appeared in the Maryland Senate on Nov. 12th and was put on a committee with Mr. Henry to study the subject of revising the State Constitution. Mr. Carroll was re-elected to the United States Senate during this session of the Maryland Assembly.

Upon the adjournment of the Maryland Senate Mr. Carroll hurried to Philadelphia to take his seat in the United States Senate. Philadelphia was made the temporary seat of government for ten years by the Potomac act and Congress met here December, 1790.

Congress over, he went in March, to make a study of the Baltimore Iron Works with the idea of improving conditions there. At the second session of the first Congress the North Carolina Senators appeared and were seated. North Carolina had by this time ratified the Constitution. Mr. Maclay, a leading Anti-Federalist, (Democrat) says of Washington, "he is only a man but a very fine one. We have nothing to fear from him but much from the precedents he will establish."

By this time John Adams was beginning to show a kind of resentment or spite toward Mr. Carroll. Both were Federalists and both had taken the radical side in the Continental Congress. But Adams had three objections to Mr. Carroll. The first was Mr. Carroll's great wealth, the second that he was a Roman Catholic and the third that Carroll, Washington and Franklin had carried to success the French support and alliance without him. In fact they had done it in spite of him for he acted in a way to cause that work to be harder to accomplish. Mr. Maclay gives a conversation

between Adams and Carroll that took place in his presence in which Adams almost passed the line of gentility in speaking of Mr. Carroll's estate which he called an Empire.

On the 22nd of April the news of the death of Benjamin Franklin reached the country. Mr. Carroll, his most confidential friend in public life, moved that the Senators wear crape for a month in honor of his memory, as the House had resolved to do. Mr. Maclay says, " I seconded the motion but as some one objected because crape had not been worn for Grayson, Mr. Carroll looked at me. I nodded and he withdrew the motion. Chas. Carroll of Carrollton felt deeply the death of his close friend. They had made the trip to Canada together and earnestly and successfully they had planned and worked and struggled for the assistance of France in the cause of the colonies.

Rhode Island had not ratified the Constitution of the United States and there was much ado about what should be done with that State. Mr. Carroll reported a bill to cut off intercourse and to prevent her sending any goods into the United States. The bill was amended in immaterial ways and put upon its passage. The question of State Rights was here raised as a live issue for the first time. The Federalists voted for the bill and the Anti-Federalists, (Democrats) voted against it.

Congress met in October and so did the Maryland legislative. Mr. Carroll served his State in the Maryland Senate and John Henry attended the session of the United States Senate. Both men were members of both these bodies.

Mr. Carroll in the Maryland Senate was on two important committees, one for preparing a bill for the relief of insolvent debtors and the other to prepare a State law in connection with ceding the territory to the

United States which should constitute the Federal District.

Mr. Carroll prepared a resolution instructing the Maryland Senators John Henry and Charles Carroll of Carrollton to urge the Senate of the United States to transact its business with open doors.

The Maryland Assembly adjourned and Mr. Carroll went at once to take his seat in the Senate of the United States.

Parties were now well crystalized and in a general way the division was on lines that continued for generations.

Mr. Carroll on October 22, wrote a letter to Hamilton going somewhat into the political situation. He regards the Federalists as the " Friends of Stability, in other words the real friends of the govèrnment," and is rather suspicious of the intentions of the other party — the Anti-Federalists.

The Maryland Senate met November 5. It was a busy Senate and a law was passed making United States Senators, members of Congress and others holding office under the United States ineligible as Members of the Maryland Assembly. Mr. Carroll therefore had to give up his position as a Maryland Senator or as a United States Senator. He promptly resigned his place in the United States Senate, preferring to serve his State. This he evidently considered as the most useful and most honorable of the two places. The Militia bill was the burning question of this session. Mr. Carroll wrote a very interesting account of this session to his former colleague Mr. John Henry.

The interest of the State of Maryland in the stock of the Bank of England was still a subject of contention in 1798.

The death of General Washington was announced in the Maryland legislature January 1, 1800.

Charles Carroll and Uriah Forest were named as a committee of the Senate to report an appropriate memorial adress. A writer of that day says, " One never witnessed a more touching sight than those two men standing at the rostrum of the Senate with tears streaming down their cheeks and trying to speak of their loved comrade who had just passed away." This act of paying a personal and public tribute to the man he so loved was one of the last acts of an official nature in the life of Mr. Carroll.

The party of Jefferson, now known as the Republican or Democratic party, having come into power both in Maryland and in National affairs, Charles Carroll of Carrollton retired to private life and gave much of his time to public good in ways that will be told hereafter.

Baltimore town became Baltimore city by action on the report of a committee headed by Mr. Carroll. He also had charge of a bill which became a law providing for an annual lottery in aid of the new city of Washington.

Mr. Carroll was in favor of the gradual abolition of slavery and introduced a bill in the Maryland Senate with this end in view, but it did not pass.

Mr. Carroll, following the traditions of his family and of the Lords Proprietor of Maryland, was always kind, careful and considerate of the Indians. The friendly feeling and just treatment of the Indians of Maryland was everywhere known. There were no massacres of the whites by Indians and little or no swindling of Indians by the white people. The Proprietors made conveyances subject to the claims of the Indians and it was necessary to make a deal with any Indians on it before taking possession of a grant. This was generally easy of accomplishment, for the

Indians, mindful of the vast acreages further back, were usually quite ready to sell out for a consideration. Mr. Carroll knew how to handle the Indians. Both he and his cousin, Rev. John Carroll, had had such experience and full knowledge of the red men as enabled these two men to treat successfully with the Indians of the north and to keep them from joining the British at the commencement of the Revolutionary war.

During Washington's administration war broke out in what is now the State of Ohio. In 1793, after a treaty with the Miamis and other Indians of that territory had been concluded, the sub-chiefs refused to accept the treaty and went on the war path. The army headquarter was at Fort Washington near the mouth of the Miami river, where the city of Cincinnati now stands, and General St. Clair was designated as commander-in-chief, and sent to quell the outbreak. He left the east with instructions given by General Washington, who was a skilled Indian fighter, and knew the ways of the red men. He sent St. Clair with full instructions and above all impressed on him to beware of a surprise. In spite of all this St. Clair marched his forces from Fort Washington to what is now Mercon county, Ohio, and encamped for the night. Regardless of what Washington had told him, his force was surprised by the Indians and badly beaten, with terrible loss. The country was dazed at such a slaughter of the troops. Hardly such a disaster had occurred during the Revolutionary war likely. The Indians were so elated as to make a terrible Indian war likely. But St. Clair was succeeded by "Mad" Anthony Wayne and the Indians were soon so far subdued as to want peace.

At this stage it was necessary for Washington to

bring to his aid the ablest and most experienced men available and he wrote the following letters to Mr. Carroll:

To Charles Carroll of Carrollton,

Philadelphia, 23rd of January, 1793.

Dear Sir:

The western indians having proposed to us a conference, at Auglaise, not far from Detroit, in the ensuing spring, I am now about to proceed to nominate three commissioners to meet and treat with them on the subject of peace. What may be the issue of the conference, it is difficult to foresee, but it is extremely essential that whatever it be it should carry with it the perfect confidence of our citizens that every endeavor will have been used to obtain peace, which their interest would permit. For this reason it is necessary that characters be appointed who are known to our citizens for their talents and integrity, and whose situation in life places them clear of every suspicion of a wish to prolong the war: or say rather whose interests in common with that of their country, is clearly to produce peace. Characters uniting these disiderata, do not abound. Some of them are now in office inconsistent with the appointment now in question, and others under impediments of health or other circumstances, so as to circumscribe the choice within a small circle. Desirous in the first instance that you should be on this commission I have mentioned these difficulties to show you, in the event of your declining how serious they are, and to induce you to come forward and perform this important service to your country, a service with which its prosperity and tranquility are intimately connected.

It will be necessary to set out for this place about the 1st of May. The route will be by the North River and Niagara. It will be safe, and the measures for your comfortable transportation and

subsistence will be taken as effectually as circumstances will admit.

Will you then, permit me sir, to nominate you as one of the Commissioners with a certain reliance on your acceptance?

Your answer to this by the first post will oblige, dear sir,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Mr. Carroll was not able to accept this duty and so wrote the President.

Beverly Randolph, Timothy Pickering and Benjamin Lincoln were afterwards appointed and concluded a treaty with the Indians that formed the basis of a permanent peace.

CHAPTER XXIII

ATTENTION TO THE ESTATE — DEATH OF HIS SON CHARLES OF HOMESTEAD

In February, 1801, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, who had been giving much attention to the details of his vast estate wrote that he now had everything in good order, with the accounts clear and regular and in the condition he would like to leave them when he departed.

He was in favor of the election of Burr over Jefferson, and hoped that Burr would be chosen by the House of Representatives. He was much disgusted with the opinion of Jefferson as a party man and believed he could not act with wisdom if the views he expressed in a newspaper article were his real sentiments. Burr, he thought, might be as much of a hypocrite as Jefferson, but he believed him to be a "firm steady man, possessing great energy and decision."

After his retirement from public life, Mr. Carroll spent a good deal of time with his daughter, Mrs. Caton. Her husband was an English gentleman who had settled on a beautiful estate given to Mrs. Caton by her father in Baltimore county called Brooklandwood. It was surrounded by fine estates of other wealthy people and the spot is now known as Catonsville.

Charles Carroll, Jr., on the 17th of July, 1800, had married Harriet, daughter of Hon. Benjamin Chew, Chief Justice of Pennsylvania, and of the same family as the Chews of Virginia and Maryland. Judge Chew had six daughters, all famous beauties, in Pennsylvania and New York society. Mrs. Charles Carroll was the sister of Mrs. John Eager Howard, also of

Maryland, and though much younger, a political and personal friend of Charles Carroll of Carrollton.

Colonel Howard was also a man of great wealth and liberality. He gave to the city of Baltimore the land on which the Washington Monument stands.

In a letter about this time Mr. Carroll writes to his son about some business matter and urging promptness says "Do not neglect to attend to this matter. He who postpones till tomorrow what can, and ought to be done today, will never thrive in this world. It was not by procrastination that this estate was acquired; but by activity, thought, perseverance and economy; and by the same means it must be preserved and prevented from melting away."

On July 25, 1801, a son was born to the family of Charles, Jr., and sending his congratulations on this event Mr. Carroll says, "I sincerely rejoice with you on the recent happy event, the birth of your son. May this child when grown to manhood be a comfort to his parents in the decline of life, and support the reputation of the family." His letters to Mr. Harper contain many allusions to public affairs. Regarding a speech of Mr. Giles, he admits its ability, but says "I suspect that Jefferson, Madison and Giles have clubbed heads to produce that artificial piece of sophistry."

The correspondence of Mr. Carroll at this time is interesting chiefly as showing the great intelligence and deep piety of the man. In a letter to young Charles at the Manor and written from the home of Mrs. Caton, he says in conclusion, "Be frugal, be thoughtful, be methodical. You will have great occasion for the exercise of all these qualities." He says, also, "Take exercise. Exercise body and mind. Both will become torpid and diseased if exercise and study be neglected and disused."

And in another letter he says " In improving your mind, remember your God. The fear of the Lord, says the wise man, is the beginning of wisdom. Without virtue there can be no happiness; and without religion no virtue; consider yourself as always in the presence of the Almighty. If this sentiment be strong and vivid, you will never sin or commit any action you would be ashamed to commit before man " and this letter concludes "And peace, oh virtue, peace is all thine own. God bless you."

In 1801 Catherine Carroll married Robert Goodloe Harper of South Carolina.

In 1803 Mr. Carroll was one of a committee of three selected by the governors to help boom St. John's College. This committee was " to publish an account of the state of the College, and of the advantages it presents and may afford. They did this so well that the college seemed to take a new start.

In 1805 his son lost an infant and wrote to Mr. Carroll of the great grief of the family. In feelingly replying to this letter the father says, " Everything in this world is precarious. Health, riches, power and talents are all uncertain. Virtue alone is subject to no vicissitudes."

Charles Carroll of Homestead, the son, died in 1825. Many tender, loving letters from his father have been preserved referring to his failing health. In one of these letters the father writes, " God bless you and prepare you for a better world, for the present is but a passing meteor compared to eternity."

Charles of Homestead was a strikingly handsome man. His son Charles was the fifth of his name and inherited Doughoregan Manor.

On the completion of the Erie canal connecting the Great Lakes with the Atlantic ocean, medals commem-

orative of the event were struck and three of gold were ordered presented, one each to Charles Carroll of Carrollton, John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, the three surviving signers of the Declaration of Independence.

Mr. Carroll, now in his 89th year, was still vigorous of intellect and fairly strong of body. He was far from being an infirm old man. In reply to a letter about this time from a friend, who spoke of the useful life he had led and the important things he had accomplished, Mr. Carroll closed his letter with this sentence, "On the mercy of my Redeemer I rely for Salvation; and on His merits; not on the works I have done in obedience to His precepts."

In private life as well as he had been in public office Charles Carroll of Carrollton continued to be the most active and useful citizen of his State. He was mentor, guide, leader and banker for his whole section. In fact, he was the only man who had money to lend and wanted to lend it for the improvement of his people. He had early undertaken to convert his part of the State from a tobacco growing to a wheat and corn raising section. Tobacco was a hard crop on land and its continued cultivation year after year was exhausting the soil and making the land less productive and, therefore, less valuable as an investment. As the soil grew thinner the tendency to go west grew stronger and the natural growth of the State was retarded. This condition had begun to develop just before the beginning of the Revolutionary war and Charles Carroll of Carrollton and his father had discussed it frequently and sought the best remedy to meet it. The Ellicott brothers came along at the right time and attracted by the fine water power were induced by the Carrolls and others to establish mills for grinding grain. They had been successful millers in Pennsylvania, but were convinced that this was a better field

for the operations they contemplated on a more extended scale. Charles Carroll of Carrollton, the richest capitalist in the province, stood ready to back the enterprise in any practical way, and he changed much of his farming into the cultivation of wheat, and other enterprising farmers followed. This change involved much expense in the purchase of new implements and the erection of new buildings. But the Carrolls advanced the money to those who needed it and they also aided in the building of roads that grain might the more easily be got to the mills. The Ellicotts had their mills running and were producing flour when the war began. The mill owners also built, or greatly assisted in building, roads in all directions and the country was greatly improved and the land much enhanced in value. The Carrolls, with the aid of farmers, on the route now had a road all the way from Ellicotts mills to the Carrollton Manor in Frederick county. Of course much tobacco was still grown, but by the year 1780 wheat had become the main crop of the section. The Ellicotts became general merchants as well as millers, and by 1790 were sending quantities of flour to Europe and importing many lines of goods useful to the farmers.

Their coming was a real benefaction to the people and prevented many from sacrificing their lands and going to new sections. With the success of grain growing, land values increased, incomes from the farms were increased and the Carrolls profited greatly as a consequence. By 1803 all this section of Maryland had practically given up the cultivation of tobacco and was one of the finest wheat producing sections in the world.

CHAPTER XXIV

ORGANIZING THE B. & O. R. R.— LAFAYETTE'S VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES IN PRIVATE LIFE

Mr. Carroll, ever alert in promoting the welfare of his people, took a deep interest in the question of transportation, which had become a vital matter for Baltimore City and the section. Though over ninety years old he was energetic and vigorous, heard all that was to be said, and decided that the interest of the State demanded some radical action, and he was in favor of a railroad. Accordingly at a meeting held February 12, 1827, a committee of thirty-five was appointed to prepare a charter and petition the legislature for its enactment. Charles Carroll of Carrollton was made chairman of the committee and John V. L. McMahon prepared a charter which was granted in Maryland on the 28th of February and in Virginia March 8th. Thus, in sixteen days from the meeting at which the railroad project was adopted, the charter was granted in the two States through which the road would pass. By April 1st the necessary stock was subscribed and on April 23d the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company was organized by the election of the following board of directors. Charles Carroll of Carrollton, George Hoffman, Thomas Ellicott, Philip E. Thomas, Robert Morris, Isaac McKim, Talbot Jones, William Lorman, and William Stewart. Philip E. Lorman was made president, and George Brown treasurer.

Work of locating the road went rapidly on and the point of its entrance within the city being agreed on, it was announced that the " Corner Stone " would be

laid July 4, 1828. There was a great civic and military parade, many patriotic speeches and the venerable and greatly beloved Charles Carroll of Carrollton threw the first shovel of dirt, wielded the trowel in the beginning of the great work in which the population of Baltimore was so enthusiastically interested.

The method of propulsion had not yet been decided on and one experiment was with a car with sails. The car was built like a sleigh, body of basket, had four wheels and was fitted with a mast and square sails. Mr. B. H. Latrobe, the chief engineer of the road, Mr. Carroll and a number of others were invited to witness experiments with the car. Mr. Latrobe says " though the car was a mere toy and unpractical as a motive power it served a good purpose in showing how little power was required to move a car on rails compared with the best of roads that had preceded it."

Then steam was considered. There was a steam road in England, but it was a straight road, while this road was to have curves. Peter Cooper, who was largely interested in the Canton Iron Works, was sure that a steam locomotive could be operated on a curve and he proved it. Mr. Cooper built the locomotive and when it was completed attached an open car and made the trip from Baltimore to Ellicotts Mills and return. The car carried the directors and some friends and there was not a hitch in the movements of the train. The curves were passed and grades ascended without difficulty. After the trip Mr. Cooper and the entire party went out to the Caton estate, where Mr. Carroll was staying with his daughter, to tell him of the success of the first trip. And thus were the first obstacles met and railroading in America made possible in spite of grades and curves.

When the corner stone of the railroad was to be laid the Blacksmiths' Association presented Mr. Carroll

with the implements used in the work. In a letter to them he said " you observe that republics can exist and that under that form of government the people can be happier than under any other. That the republic created by the Declaration of Independence may continue to the end of time is my fervent prayer. That protracted existence however will depend on the morality, sobriety and industry of the people, and on no part more than on the mechanics, forming in our cities the greatest number of their most useful inhabitants.

In 1824 Lafayette visited Baltimore and was received by Charles Carroll of Carrollton and Colonel John Eager Howard, the brother-in-law of Carroll's son. Those two were the most distinguished survivors of the Revolution in Maryland. John Quincy Adams, who accompanied Lafayette, wrote a sketch of the scene. The distinguished visitors were received in a tent formerly used by Washington, and there was a procession through the streets of Baltimore, in which Mr. Carroll was the most striking and venerable figure.

During the visit of Lafayette to the United States Mr. Latrobe was with him a great deal and the conditions and events of 1777 were vividly recalled and graphicly retold.

Democracy dawned in France during the days of Louis XIV. It grew brighter in the reign of Louis XV and by the time of Louis XVI it was shedding its rays all over France, and penetrating the remote corners of the earth.

Charles Carroll of Carrollton caught the spirit, as part of the education he received in that country. He not only observed its workings in France, but beheld it in the upbuilding of the party by Pitt and Burke in England.

He rejoiced at the interest which the French people

were taking in our struggle for liberty and was especially pleased at the firm stand and practical work of Lafayette. He never met this famous friend of liberty till after the Marquis was a major-general in our army. But from the faithful La Fon and the alert Donnelly, he heard every item of news that concerned his interest in our cause. Reminders and recountings of all these things came with the visit of Lafayette to this country in 1824.

The story of Lafayette's life is one of the most interesting in history, just as he was one of the most interesting, as well as useful men of that eventful period. He was educated at Le Grand College in Paris, the same school from which Mr. Carroll had been graduated some years before.

In 1777 he determined to cast his lot with the Colonies and after several vain efforts to get transportation, secured the ship *Victory,* invited as his guests a dozen other liberty-loving Frenchmen desiring to go to America and join the cause of the Colonies. Among them were Baron De Kalb and De Val du Montier. After many hindrances the *Victory* sailed for Charleston, S. C. De Val got left, but secured passage on a ship that sailed directly for Philadelphia, and was there awaiting them when the Lafayette party reached the Capitol. The *Victory* had a long and tempestuous voyage from a port in Spain to the coast of South Carolina. The party, thirteen in number, rode on horseback from Charleston to Philadelphia, a distance of some 900 miles by the rough roads then available.

On shipboard as well as during the long horseback ride there was constant joking about the unlucky number of 13. All took these jibes in good part, except one sedate and over-sensitive youngster, whom the party dubbed No. 13. On arriving in Philadelphia, this young man, a stranger in a land that surely was

strange to him, physically worn out, as well as depressed in spirits, committed suicide by drowning in the Fairmount river.

This incident caused much sorrow and some delay in getting their commissions. But De Val turned up as a member of the party, making the number still thirteen. Lafayette made such an impression on Washington by his pleasing personality and by his practical knowledge of what was doing and what was wanted that the commander at once recommended him for a commission and Congress acted promptly on the recommendation. All the others were provided for in a satisfactory manner.

It is related that one day at Valley Forge, De Val, who was greatly attached to Lafayette, pointing to his friend, said to Col. Telghman:

> There's the man who will be known as the marvel of the Century. Think of what he is and what he has done. Before reaching his twentieth birthday anniversary, Lafayette had served his King in three different capacities, was a married man and the father of twins and held a commission as a Major General in the American Army."

De Val settled in Louisiana at the close of the Revolution, and became one of the influential citizens of that part of the South, where many of his descendants are still to be found, while others have scattered to different parts of the country. He was alive and well when Lafayette visited this country in 1824, and one of the longest visits the Marquis made was to Louisiana to " see my old friend and comrade in arms, De Val du Montier."

Adams and Jefferson died July 4, 1826, fifty years from the day they voted for independence. This left Mr. Carroll only survivor of the signers. On August 2d afterwards, at a meeting in Fanueil Hall in Boston,

Daniel Webster delivered an eulogy on the two departed ex-presidents. In one of his splendid periods the great orator gave voice to the feelings of American hearts toward the last survivor:

> Of the illustrious signers of the Declaration of Independence there now remains only Charles Carroll. He seems an aged oak, standing alone on the plain, which time has spared a little longer after all its contemporaries have been levelled with the dust. Venerable object! we delight to gather round its trunk, while yet it stands, and to dwell beneath its shadow. Sole survivor of an assembly of as great men as the world has witnessed, in a transaction one of the most important that history records, what thoughts, what interesting reflections, must fill his elevated and devout soul! If he dwell on the past, how touching its recollections; if he survey the present, how happy, how joyous, how full of the fruition of that hope which his ardent patriotism indulged; if he glance at the future, how does the prospect of his country's advancement almost bewilder his conception! Fortunate, distinguished patriot! Interesting relic of the past! Let him know that, while we honor the dead, we do not forget the living; and that there is not a heart here which does not fervently pray that Heaven may keep him yet back from the society of his companions."

Among the last recorded utterances of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, often quoted as his last words, is that deeply impressive statement:

> I have lived to my ninety-sixth year; I have enjoyed continued health, I have been blessed with great wealth, prosperity, and most of the good things which the world can bestow — public approbation, esteem, applause; but what I now look back on with the greatest satisfaction to myself is, that I have practiced the duties of my religion."

CHAPTER XXV

BIRTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE U. S. NAVY

In 1794 Mr. Carroll had retired as a Senator from the State of Maryland. Undoubtedly he would have been a member of Washington's cabinet but for the necessity of his remaining at least for a while in the United States Senate. Congress had passed a law preventing a man from holding two offices at the same time and Mr. Carroll had given up his position as a member of the United States Senate in order that he might be able to more advantageously support the President in the councils of his State. Already the party that was opposing the President in many things had secured a majority in the House of Representatives and it was with this condition of things that Washington consulted Mr. Carroll in regard to re-establishing the United State Navy. An act of Congress had been passed providing for the building and operating of a navy under the direction of Secretary of War.

The navy of the Colonies had been permitted to dwindle away. Some of the boats had become too old and decayed to be of use and the others were sold as there seemed to be no further need for a navy. But French spoliation had shown the necessity for a navy, and Congress had authorized the work to be undertaken. The Secretary of War was not very anxious for this addition to the duties and responsibilities of his office. Washington, as was his custom, sent for Senator Carroll and they talked the matter over. The two men best fitted for the work according to Senator Carroll's opinion, were Andrew Ellicott and Commodore Jack Barry. The two latter were sent for and

General Knox, Secretary of War, suggested calling Joshua Fox. So General Washington, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Jack Barry, Andrew Ellicott and Joshua Fox formed the committee that outlined the first plans for a United States Navy, and they were men admirably fitted for the work at hand. Ellicott was the son and nephew of the two great mill owners that Mr. Carroll had induced to come from Bucks County to Maryland when he determined to divert a large percentage of Maryland planters from tobacco raisers to growers of grain. The Ellicotts had purchased great tracts of land near Mr. Carroll's estate and had founded Ellicotts Mills, now Ellicott City. Andrew Ellicott was a civil engineer of great ability and his talents were well known both to President Washington and Mr. Carroll. Barry, known as the "Commodore" was living the life of a gentleman of means in Philadelphia. He believed that his days of activity were over. But the passage of the law providing for a United States Navy, infused new life into him and he became deeply interested in the effort. Both Barry and Ellicott, as well as Washington and Carroll knew of the ability of Joshua Fox, as a constructor of ships.

The great-granddaughter of Fox, Elizabeth Brandon Stanton, now or very lately living at Windy Hill Manor, Haldez, Miss., tells the story of her ancestor's connection with the beginning of the navy as shown by the records and her account agrees precisely with that given by Mr. Carroll in his letters.

Miss Stanton says:

> When the bill was pending in Congress in the session of 1793 and 1794, there was an English Naval constructor visiting in the United States —Josiah Fox, born at Falmouth, England, October 9, 1763. He came to this country to see

his relatives, and, as he was about to return home, he received an invitation from General Knox, the Secretary of War, to call at the the War Office, General Knox having heard from Commodores Barry and Decatur that Josiah Fox was very skilled in naval architecture. Andrew Ellicott of West Point, the surveyor-general, introduced his kinsman, Fox, personally to Knox and Washington, and they discussed the project of building a navy.

Fox was a master shipbuilder, who had served his apprenticeship under the best ship architects and shipbuilders of that period in England, and the English navy was recognized as the finest of the world. He was offered inducements by those in authority to give his knowledge and skill to serving of the young republic. Those in authority were not satisfied with the constructors in their employ, they being unacquainted with the latest methods and improvements in shipbuilding; and, not to be despised on the high seas, the nation's war vessels must be drafted, molded and constructed after the world's foremost maritime power. Fox was a graduate of the English School of Navy Architecture, and was at once employed.

Miss Stanton from her family papers, then goes on to give a most interesting but succinct account of the work of beginning and developing the new navy. She says that following his introduction to those in authority, Josiah Fox underwent a satisfactory examination as to his qualification in the art of naval architecture before the Secretary of War and Commodore Barry, the latter of whom he had known from his youth up. The principal mast shipbuilders of Philadelphia also bore testimony to his skill in naval architecture. He was thereupon received into the public service as a clerk in the Department of War, until suitable provision could be otherwise made for him. At that time his advice and assistance were required on naval subjects and he confidently asserts that his models, formed to combine buoy-

ance and capacity with fast-sailing, met the general approbation of those professional men to whom the Secretary of War submitted them.

After the models had been decided on, he was employed the remainder of the year in laying down the draughts in the model loft and superintending making the molds. The four ships which he drafted were the "United States," "Constitution," "Constellation," and the one intended to have been built at Norfolk, the work on which finally fell to him.

Barry was made Superintendent of Naval construction and Fox Naval Constructor. It can be said without fear of successful contradiction that no group of vessels designed by any one man in the world's naval history ever achieved the remarkable and lasting pre-eminence of the frigates and sloops of war which were the creations of Josiah Fox. Among them were these historic fighting ships:

Frigates	No. of Guns
"Constitution"	44
"United States"	44
The One at Norfolk	44
"Crescent," built for Dey of Algiers	36
"Chesapeake" (2)	44
"Constellation"	36
"John Adams"	32
"Portsmouth"	22
"Hornet"	18
"Wasp"	18
"Ferret"	12

and a greater part of the numerous gunboats.

The old "Constitution" also is a monument to the first American naval constructor. It was finished in 1798 and saw service under Commodore Barry against the French in 1799. Of the old ship's many sea fights, the most renowned was her engagement with the British man-of-war "Guerrier," commanded by Captain Dacres. To

avenge the insults hurled at his brave ship, Captain Isaac Hull sailed in search of the "Guerrier," August 12, and seven days later came in range. The mizen mast of the "Guerrier" was shot away; her mast was inslings and her hull, spars and sails were torn to threads by the gunners of "Old Ironsides" — approbiously clept by the old English press: "A bundle of pineboards sailing under a bit of striped bunting." Those boasted broadsides from English walls did not drive the paltry "striped bunting" from the high seas: Captain Dacres struck his flag to intrepid Captain Isaac Hull and the Stars and Stripes of the Baby Republic waved triumphantly over the British Lions. Hull only lost seven men killed; Dacres counted seventy killed and wounded on his bloody deck.

In the "Constellation" Captain Tuxton went to sea in the war against France, and in 1799, he captured "L'Isurgente," thirty-six guns for which deed Congress awarded him a gold medal.

The action of the "Constellation" with "La Vengeance" has always been considered one of the warmest combats between frigates on record. The result of this engagement produced great exultation in America and was very gratifying to the national pride. It was claimed as a victory of 38 over 34. The country proclaimed the new marine was equal to any on the seas.

Captain John Barry was familiarly known as the Commodore, a title frequently given by courtesy but not known in the American Navy till 1862. It was given by courtesy to men in civil life, who had attained fame in marine matters as in the case of Commodore Vanderbilt of New York and Commodore Hooper of Baltimore. Barry received commission No. 1 in the new United States Navy, as he had in the navy of the United Colonies, but his work on the seas in the Federal navy was not of long duration as he died not long after hoisting his flag as "Commodore of the Constitution," the first ship to be finished.

Of the three men called into consultation by Washington, Knox and Carroll to develop the American Navy, Andrew Ellicott became an instructor at West Point, where he spent the remainder of his life.

Commodore Jack Barry died in the service as the first commanding officer of the American Navy and in command of the ship Constitution. He was a man of great ability and of conspicuous personal virtues. He used no strong drink, at a period when nearly all men were drinkers, and he never used profane language, when it was common for all sailors to swear and most captains believed that profanity was essential to a proper emphasis of their commands.

Joshua Fox, a member of the Society of Friends, was excommunicated for his contribution to the war, but in 1817, after peace had been declared, he was restored to membership and many of his descendants are today members of the Society of Friends in Philadelphia.

Josiah Fox, after spending fifteen years in the service of the United States, removed with his family to Wheeling in 1811, and to Colerain, Belmont County, Ohio, 1814, where he died.

CHAPTER XXVI

LOUIS LE GRANDE COLLEGE WHERE THE SPARK OF LIBERTY WAS FANNED INTO A FLAME — CARROLL AND LAFAYETTE

One cannot study the lives of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Lafayette and the hundreds of others of its graduates equally earnest in the cause of liberty, though not so well known, without having the highest regard for Louis Le Grand College of Paris. It must have been a hotbed of Democracy and an earnest and conscientious developer of the spark of liberty that Christianity had been faithfully guarding since the days of the Roman Empire.

The Christian religion not only brought to mankind a new philosophy but it instilled in the minds of its followers a doctrine that was astounding to the rulers and learned men of that period. This was the declaration of the equal rights of men. When it announced that the humblest slave in the Roman Empire had an immortal soul as important as the soul of Caesar, it laid the foundation of that structure of Democracy, that in years to come was to elevate man and revolutionize the world. It took the spirit of this truth three hundred years to get well started but once fully alive it has never been entirely suppressed.

This old College of Louis Le Grand taught that the Christian religion had given to the world the only things that make human progress possible and stand for the elevation of mankind.

Christianity brought to this civilization the idea of an immortal soul, of the equality of man, and of the family. The promotion of these is progress, their

repression is a relapse into barbarism. The Church never taught the divine right of Kings nor encouraged any such idea. It accepted Kings as it accepted other conditions that it found; and endeavored to right the great wrongs which they afflicted by leavening the whole mass of humanity and gradually working over the world as it found it into a better and a nobler world. The claim of the divine right of Kings is comparatively a modern one. It had been merely hinted at before, but had its full fruition in the claims and acts of the rulers of the German states some four hundred years ago. These doctrines of that period formed the foundation of that German " Kultur " of which we hear so much today.

The College of Louis Le Grand taught that man possessed certain inalienable rights which could not be taken from him in fairness to the race and that "among them were life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

And the students went abroad and talked about what they had *imbibed*. There were other such institutions teaching the rights of man as among the fundamental doctrines of the Christian religion; and they too sent out their graduates to spread the doctrine of liberty and equality.

It was in this way that France became the cradle of democracy and in these conditions is found the reason for so many of her sons espousing the side of our forefathers in their struggle for liberty. The spiritual reasons that moved men like Lafayette, De Kalb, and De Val were infinitely more powerful than could have been any efforts founded on political intrigue, or on the hatred of another nation.

Our obligations to France, which we are endeavoring to repay in some slight degree, are too deep to be measured by dollars or to be estimated by the material

aid rendered us by the valor of her sons. France now struggling to save the soul of the world is the same beautiful and lovable France that did so much to develop that soul through the work done by her institutions of learning long ago in implanting the love of liberty and the equality of men into the hearts of such men as Lafayette and Charles Carroll of Carrollton.

The love of the American people for Lafayette and the high esteem in which his memory is held was expressed by the presentation of a statue of the great French soldier, statesman and friend of America by the school children of this country to the people of France. The statue was unveiled July 4, 1900, and Archbishop Ireland was sent by President McKinley to deliver the address at the unveiling.

The love of this people for France and for Lafayette was never more forcefully and could not be more beautifully expressed than was done by the eloquent prelate on that occasion.

We append an abstract from this address.

> We speak to France in the name of America, under commission from her chief magistrate, William McKinley, from her Senate and House of Representatives, from her youths who throng her schools, and from the tens of millions of her people who rejoice in the rich inheritance won in years past by the allied armies of France and America. We are bidden by America to give in the hearing of the world testimony of the gratitude to France.
>
> Once weak and poor in sore need of sympathy and succor, to-day the peer of the mightiest, self-sufficing, asking for naught save the respect and friendship to which her merits may entitle her, the republic of the United States of America holds in loving remembrance the nation from which in the days of her dire necessity there came to her

powerful and chivalrous support. Noble men and noble nations forgive injuries; they never forget favors.

There is a land which is above all other lands the land of chivalry, of noble impulse and generous sacrifice, the land of devotion to ideals. At the call of a high-born principle her sons, with souls attuned by nature to the harmonies of the true and the beautiful, leap instinctively into the arena, resolved at any cost to render such principle a reality in the life-current of humanity. The pages of its history glisten with the names of heroes and martyrs, of knightly soldiers and saintly missionaries. It is of France I speak.

At the close of the last century France was, more than ever, ready to hearken to an appeal made in the name of human rights. The spirit of liberty was hovering over the land, never again to depart from it, even if for a time baffled in its aspirations by the excesses of friends or the oppression of foes. To France America turned and spoke her hopes and fears; her messengers pleaded her cause in Paris; quick and generous was the response which France gave to the appeal. Gilbert du Motier, Marquis de Lafayette! Oh, that words of mine could express the full burning love which our Revoluntionary sires did bear to this illustrious son of old Auvergne! Oh, that I could pronounce his name with the reverence with which my countrymen across the sea wish me to pronounce it before the people of France! In America two names are the idols of our national worship, the burden of fireside tale, the inspiration of the poet's song, the theme of the orator's discourse; the name of him who was the Father of his Country — George Washington; and the name of him who was the true and trusty friend of Washington, Gilbert du Motier, Marquis de Lafayette.

Strange were it if America did not cherish the name of Lafayette. He loved America. "From the moment that I heard the name of America,"

said he, "I loved her; from the moment I learned of her struggles for liberty, I was inflamed with the desire of shedding my blood for her." He understood, above most men of his time, the full significance of America's contest. "Never," said he, "had so noble a purpose offered itself to the judgment of men; it was the last struggle for liberty, and its defeat would have left freedom without a home and without hopes." His devotion to America was as unselfish as it was intense. "I offer myself," he wrote, "to serve the United States with all possible zeal without pension or allowance."

Wealth and rank, the favors of court and King, high distinction in the services of his own country, the endearments of wife and child — all that ambition could covet or opportunity promise, the youth of nineteen summers put resolutely aside to cast his lot with a far-off people battling against fearful odds — and that at a moment when their fortunes were at their lowest ebb, and hope had well nigh abandoned their standard. When the agent of America in France sadly confessed that he was even unable to furnish a ship to carry him and other volunteers, Lafayette said: "I will buy a ship and take your men with me."

By his magnanimity of soul, and by his grace of manner not less than by his military prowess, he won all hearts and became the idol of the American army. He proved himself to the inmost fibre of his soul an American, as proud of America as the proudest of her patriots, the champion before all contestants of her honor and her fair name. More cheerfully even than his American companions in arms he bore the terrible hardships of the war; again and again he pledged his personal fortune to buy food and clothing for his men, who knew him by the familiar appellation of — "The Marquis, the soldiers friend." In camp and in battle his influence was boundless; a word of cheer from his lips roused the drooping spirits of his soldiers; a word of command sent

them headlong against the enemy. A visitor to the American camp, the Marquis de Chastellux, could not help remarking that Lafayette was never spoken of without manifest tokens of attachment and affection.

But much as Lafayette deserves and receives our love and honor in return for his personal service in the cause of America, his chief title to the gratitude of our people is that his heroic figure ever looms up before their entranced fancy as the symbol of the magnanimity which France as a nation displayed towards our country in her laborious struggle for life and liberty. The value of the aid given to us by France in our war for independence is inestimable. The joy which the memory of it awakens in our souls is that which comes to us through the consciousness of our national life itself. France stood first sponsor for our nationhood. We entered into the great family of nations leaning on her arm, radiant with the reflection of her histrionic splendor, and strong in the protection of her titantic stature. When Franklin stood in the palace of Versailles, the acknowledged envoy of America, and Gerard de Rayneval, as the minister of France, saluted the Congress of America at Philadelphia, the young republic thrilled with new life and leaped at once into a full sense of security and a true consciousness of her dignity.

Let historians relate as they will that the King and minister of France saw in the revolt of the America colonies, and in the assistance that might be given them, an opportunity for France to avenge the humiliation of the treaty of 1763. It is is not for us to demand that statesmen became for our sake oblivious of the interests of their own country. What America knows, what she will never fail to know, is that King and ministers of France gave us the aid through which we won our independence, and that they gave it to us in warmest friendliness and with most chivalrous generosity, and that in giving to us such aid they

were applauded by the noble-hearted people of France, who loved America and encouraged the alliance of their country with her, because of the great principles which were linked with the triumph or the defeat of the new republic of the west.

The war of America was waged for a mighty principle of deepest import to the welfare of humanity. It rose thereby immensely above other wars in solemn grandeur of meaning. The principle at stake was that of civil and political liberty, the triumph of which in America would be the presage of its triumph in the world. It was this principle that shed singular glory upon the battle-fields of America. America rose in rebellion against arbitrary and absolute government; she unsheathed the sword in the name of the rights of man and of the citizen.

There is but one who in His own right has power to rule over men — Almighty God — and from Him is derived whatever authority is exercised in human society. That authority is not, however, directly given to the one or the few; it is communicated by him to the people to be exercised in the form which they choose, by those whom they designate. And the men in whom this authority is invested by delegations of the people are to use it not for the benefit of the one or the few, but for the good of the people. All this is the plain teaching of reason and religion, and yet not seldom were such simple truths forgotten, not seldom in practice was power held as if it belonged to dynasties and classes, and exercised as if "the human race lived for the few." The rebellion of a people on so large a scale as was the uprising of the American colonies could not but challenge universal attention, and the triumph of such a rebellion could not but stir other peoples to a sense of their rights and to a stern resolve to maintain them.

It will not, assuredly, be said that the republican form of government is vital to a well-ordered

State, nor that without it the rights of the people cannot be safeguarded, nor that it is the best and proper policy for every people. The form of a government is a question that must rest with the people of each nation, to be determined solely by them according to their special needs and their dispositions of character. It is, nevertheless, true that the republican form of government is of itself peculiarly expressive of the limitations and responsibilities of power, and consequently the founding of a republic such as that of the United States was a momentous event for liberty throughout the entire world. In every commonwealth the people's sense of their rights and power was quickened, and there sprang up in the consciences of the rulers of nations a new conception of their responsibilities towards the people. Whatever to-day in any country the particular form of government, democracy is there in some degree; and it is there because of its plenary triumph in America, whence went forth the charmed spell that reached, were it but in weakened waves, the uttermost bounds of civilized humanity.

The creation of the republic of the United States was the inauguration of a new era in the life of the human race — the era of the rights of manhood and of citizenship and of the rights of the people. Such is the true meaning of the American Revolution, the full significance of the work done in America by Lafayette and France.

This is the age of the people. Every decade will mark an advance in the triumphant march of democracy. Political movements do not go backward; the people do not abandon, except under duress, and then only for a time, rights of which they were once possessed, or the power which they have once wielded to maintain and enlarge those rights. To seek for arguments against democracy in its apparent perils is a waste of time. The part of true statesmanship is to study the perils such as may be and take measures to avert them. The progress of democracy cannot be stayed. He

who would rule must rule through the people, through the individual men who constitute the people. To obtain results in the civil and political world he must go to the individual, enlighten his mind, form his conscience and thus enlist his sympathies and win his intelligent co-operation. He who does this will succeed; he who uses other methods will fail. The task for those who would rule men is made more difficult. The time is long gone by when men can be swayed by word or proclamation. But manhood in men has meanwhile grown, and they who love manhood in men should rejoice.

Why should we be asked to regret the coming of democracy? What is it in its ultimate analyis but the practical assertion of the dignity of man, indelibly impressed upon him when he was joined to the image of the Creator? What is it but trust in the power of truth and righteousness, and in the readiness of the human soul to respond to such influences? The growth of mind and will in the individual is what all must hail who believe in human progress, or in the strength of Christian civilization. And as mind and will grow in men, so grow in him the consciousness of his rights and power, and the resolve to uphold rights, to put power into act, and to resist all irrational or unnecessary restraint upon either rights or power — and thus is begotten democracy. The new age has dawned for all humanity; but, where men have the more quickly and the more thoroughly understood their dignity, there its golden rays have risen higher above the horizon, and shed more richly their light uponhuman thought and action.

CHAPTER XXVII

BENEVOLENT AND BUSINESS INTERESTS — AN INTERESTING LETTER FROM GENERAL WASHINGTON — CLOSING OF A GREAT CAREER

The political activities of Charles Carroll of Carrollton ceased in 1801. He had been and remained a firm Federalist; and when the Anti-Federalist wave led by Jefferson swept over the country, he found himself in a hopeless minority in both state and national affairs.

Retiring from the activities of a long and most successful career he found ample scope for his efforts and his energies in the management of his great estate and in promoting the interests of his community in many ways.

As the banker of his section he was able to advance the interests of his people. He encouraged foreign trade, developed wheat growing, enlarged and modernized the manufacture of iron, developed transportation, encouraged and endowed schools and colleges and supported the first successful effort to make fruit growing a business enterprise. To this end he secured the Manor, on the eastern shore of which Poplar island was the principal part and contained the Manor house. Here Leonard Green, the third Marylander of that name, had come into a great estate, which had been the property of his grandmother, Dorothy Leonard. A series of litigations had followed, one after another, till the property was badly run down. It embraced some two thousand acres, one-third being the island, and the remainder mainland. There was an accepted theory that fruit could thrive best when

near the salt water. This, then, was an ideal spot. Mr. Carroll secured the tract and with some people in whom he had confidence began on a large scale the cultivation of fruit. Fruit trees of many kinds were planted, but peaches were made the principal crop because of the quick growth of the trees. Grafting and budding were unknown and the peach trees grew larger and were much longer in maturing than in after years. The effort was undertaken in 1812, and it was 1820 before much in results was shown. But the idea caught and Ridgeway of Delaware quickly followed, and about the year 1815 planted the first orchard of that state.

Want of transportation facilities hampered the effort for a good while, but the idea triumphed and fruit growing as outlined in the dreams of Charles Carroll of Carrollton became a reality, and the bases of many fortunes. He insisted on the culture of English walnuts being tried and had twenty trees planted. The growth was slow, but to the present day English walnuts of fine quality are grown all through that section. As the result of this effort many trees now in full bearing were planted during Mr. Carroll's lifetime. Figs were also successfully tried and are still grown in the vicinity, but were never made an article of commerce.

Whoever had a practical idea that seemed to promise well for the interest of the section could go to Mr. Carroll for financial aid. Late in life he said, speaking for his father, himself and his immediate associates: "When you consider how many and how varied are the undertakings we fostered it is amazing how little money we ever lost in that way. Surely we must have been very successful in backing the right people."

At this time, in the latter years of his life, he had a substantial and handsomely fitted up sailboat in which

he delighted to travel. It was nicely equipped with sleeping rooms below and on deck and every comfort for a man of his age and taste was provided. To-day it would be a yacht, but at that time it was just "Mr. Carroll's pungy." And "the pungy" was everywhere a welcome visitor and its coming was an event of interest in all regions of watercourses and boat travel.

He continued to be deeply interested in religious and educational matters and was a liberal giver to all good causes. St. John's College at Annapolis and Georgetown College in the District of Columbia were both dear to his heart. But he contributed liberally to public benefactions and to educational institutions to the end of his long life.

He kept up a friendly correspondence with old friends in many parts of the country and derived great pleasure from the letters he received from these friends. Newspapers were not as numerous or as comprehensive as now, and much interesting information was passed along by letters. To an old friend, Rev. John Sanford, an Episcopal clergyman, he wrote:

Doughoregan, October 9, 1827.

Reverend and Dear Sir:—

I was yesterday favored with your friendly letter of the 10th past, and the discourses on the opening of the House of Refuge and on the death of Jefferson and Adams. The former I have read. With the latter I am highly pleased and I sincerely thank you for your pious wishes for my happiness in the life to come. Your sentiments on religious liberty coincide entirely with mine. To obtain religious, as well as civil liberty, I entered zealously into the Revolution, and observing the Christian religion divided into many sects, I founded the hope that no one would be so predominant as to become the religion of the State.

That hope was thus early entertained, because all of them joined in the same cause, with few exceptions of individuals. God grant that this religious liberty may be preserved in these States to the end of time and that all believing in the religion of Christ may practice the leading principle of charity, the basis of every virtue.

I remain with great respect, Rev. Sir,
Your most humble servant,

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON.

Mr. Carroll always took great pleasure and pride in recalling that his co-religionists of America were on the patriot side during the Revolutionary struggle to a man. Mr. Latrobe related that he used to say, " may be there was one Catholic in America that took the British side. But if so he left no record of it, and we are glad he did not."

After the inauguration of Washington a committee composed of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Daniel Carroll, Dominick Lynch and Thomas Fitz Simmons, representing the laity, and Bishop John Carroll, representing the clergy, sent an address of congratulation to the President, admirable for its sentiments of exalted patriotism. In reply President Washington sent the following:

To Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Daniel Carroll and members of your committee; and through you to the Roman Catholics of the United States.

While I now receive with much satisfaction your congratulations on my being called by a unanimous vote to the first station in my country, I cannot but duly notice your politeness in offering an apology for the unavoidable delay. As that delay has given you an opportunity of realizing, instead of anticipating, the benefits of gen-

eral government, you will do me the justice to believe that your testimony to the increase of the public prosperity enhances the pleasure which I should otherwise have experienced from your affectionate address.

I feel that my conduct in war and in peace has met with more general approbation than could reasonably have been expected; and I find myself disposed to consider that fortunate circumstances, in a great degree, resulting from the able support and extraordinary candour of my fellow-citizens of all denominations.

The prospect of national prosperity now before us is truly animating, and ought to excite the exertions of all good men to establish and secure the happiness of their country, in the permanent duration of its freedom and independence. America, under the smile of Divine Providence, the protection of a good government, the cultivation of manner, morals and piety, can hardly fail of attaining to an uncommon degree of eminence in literature, commerce, agriculture, improvements at home and respectability abroad.

As mankind become more liberal they will be more apt to allow that all those who conduct themselves as worthy members of the community, are equally entitled to the protection of civil government. I hope ever to see America among the foremost nations in examples of justice and liberality. And I presume that your fellow-citizens will not forget the patriotic part, which you took in the accomplishment of their revolution and the establishment of their government, or the important assistance, which they received from a nation in which the Roman Catholic religion is professed.

I thank you gentlemen, for your kind concern for me. While my life and my health shall continue, in whatever situation I may be, it shall be my constant endeavor to justify the favorable sentiments you are pleased to express of my conduct. And may the members of your society in

> America, animated alone by the pure spirit of Christianity and still conducting themselves as the faithful subjects of our free government, enjoy every temporal and spiritual felicity.
>
> Very truly yours,
>
> GEORGE WASHINGTON.
>
> December 14th, 1789.

This letter Mr. Carroll retained for many years as it came to him as chairman of the committee. He finally turned it over to Bishop Carroll, and it rested in the Church Archives in Baltimore till 1876, when it was loaned to be taken to Philadelphia as part of the interesting papers connected with Colonial days, which Maryland could show. Governor John Lee Carroll, great grandson of the signer, was the Centennial Governor of the State, and the Maryland exhibit of Colonial letters and relics was among the most interesting shown on that memorable occasion.

On the 2d day of August, 1826, which was the fiftieth anniversary of the actual signing of the Declaration of Independence, Mr. Carroll addressed to his countrymen this touching communication:

> Grateful to Almighty God for the blessings which, through Jesus Christ Our Lord, He has conferred on my beloved country in her emancipation and on myself in permitting me, under circumstances of mercy, to live to the age of 89 years, and to survive the fiftieth year of independence, adopted by Congress on the 4th of July 1776, which I originally subscribed on the 2d day of August of the same year and of which I am now the last surviving signer. I do hereby recommend to the present and future generations the principles of that important document as the best earthly inheritance their ancestors could bequeath to them, and pray that the civil and religious lib-

To the Roman Catholics in the United States of America.

Gentlemen,

While I now receive with much satisfaction your congratulations on my being called, by an unanimous vote, to the first station in my country; I cannot but duly notice your politeness in offering an apology for the unavoidable delay. As that delay has given you an opportunity of realizing, instead of anticipating, the benefits of the general Government; you will do me the justice to believe, that your testimony of the increase of the public prosperity, enhances the pleasure which I should otherwise have experienced from your affectionate Address.

I feel that my conduct, in war

and

and in peace, has met with more general approbation than could reasonably have been expected: and I find myself disposed to consider that fortunate circumstance, in a great degree, resulting from the able support and extraordinary candour of my fellow-citizens of all denominations.

The prospect of national prosperity now before us is truly animating, and ought to excite the exertions of all good men to establish and secure the happiness of their Country, in the permanent duration of its Freedom and Independence. America, under the smiles of a Divine Providence — the protection of a good Government — and the cultivation of manners, morals and piety, cannot fail of attaining an uncommon degree of eminence, in literature commerce, agriculture, improvements at home and respectability abroad.

As mankind become more

Liberal

liberal they will be more apt to allow, that all these who conduct themselves as worthy members of the Community are equally entitled to the protection of civil Government. I hope ever to see America among the foremost Nations in examples of justice and liberality. And I presume that your fellow-citizens will not forget the patriotic part which you took in the accomplishment of their Revolution, and the establishment of their Government: or the important assistance which they received from a Nation in which the Roman Catholic faith is professed.

I thank you, Gentlemen, for your kind concern for me. While my life and my health shall continue, in whatever situation I may be, it shall be my constant endeavour to justify the favourable sentiments which you are pleased to express of my conduct, And may the members of your Society in

America

America, animated alone by the pure spirit of Christianity, and still conducting themselves as the faithful subjects of our free Government, enjoy every temporal and spiritual felicity.

G. Washington

erties they have secured to my country may be perpetuated to remotest posterity and extended to the whole family of men.

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON.

August 2, 1826.

Only a month before he had received the news of the death of Thomas Jefferson and John Adams. His friends were fearful of the consequences of the shock which this news might produce. But he heard it with the same spirit of Christian philosophy that had sustained him all through life, and survived more than six years. And these were not years of despondency or of an old man sitting around waiting for the end to come. They were years of interest and activity. He met people, discussed events, transacted business and aided in promoting public enterprises. Until the last year of his life he walked, rode, drove and went in his boat wherever interest or inclination called him. He spent most of the time with his daughter but made frequent visits and transacted much business at the Manor.

On Wednesday 14th of November 1832, Charles Carroll of Carrollton passed away. He died at the house of his daughter on Pratt Street, Baltimore, in what was afterwards called Old town.

It was towards sundown. The weather was very cold. In a large room, his bedroom, he sat in an easy chair before an open fireplace. On a table were blessed candles, an antique bowl of holy water and a crucifix. By his side, Rev. Jno. C. Chance, President of St. Mary's College, in rich robes offered the last rites. On each side of his chair knelt a daughter and grandchildren. In the rear were three or four old negro servants kneeling in reverence.

The assembly made a picture never to be forgotten.

The venerable patriot went through the ceremony with evident pleasure and refusing nourishment said " This supplies all the wants of Nature. I desire no food." He was placed in bed. It was after midnight when he passed away.

His body reposes in the chapel at Doughoregan Manor. On the gospel side of the altar is a monument erected by order of the late Charles Carroll, grandson of the signer and father of Governor John Lee Carroll. The work was executed by Mr. Bartholomew in Rome, in 1853.

The city, the state and the nation mourned. There were memorial meetings, resolutions, letters and sermons of sympathy that would make volumes. From the faithful servants at Doughoregan Manor to the President of the United States there came expressions of sorrow and tributes of admiration and love.

In 1868 the Congress of the United States invited each state to send to Statuary Hall in the Capitol at Washington statues of two of its citizens that it most desired to honor and whose fame it would help perpetuate in this way. The State of Maryland selected Charles Carroll of Carrollton as its first choice under the terms of this invitation.

The legislature made an ample appropriation, the work was artistically done and the Statue of Charles Carroll of Carrollton in the act of signing the Declaration of Independence stands in Statuary Hall surrounded by others who have contributed to the founding and upbuilding of this Republic.

But strange as it may appear, in an assemblage of counterfeit presentments of the country's great men, selected by each of the states in response to such invitation, Mr. Carroll stands in the company of but four other signers and one of these is John Hanson from his own state of Maryland.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE CARROLLS OF THE PAST AND OF TO-DAY

The history of the Carroll family is an emphatic contradiction of the oft told story that an American family "runs out" in about the third or fourth generation.

The Carrolls have been strong men and women intellectually, morally and physically through all these years. The first Charles Carroll who came to America from Kings County was a man powerful in intellect and vigorous as well as successful in the accomplishment of his purposes. The archives show that Charles Carroll, the Attorney-General, was one of the most influential men in the Province, who founded the city of Baltimore, introduced the manufacture of iron and accomplished many things for the good of the people. He lived to see his son the Signer become one of the leading and most useful men in the Colonies, and himself occupied important public position in his 75th year. Of the Signer himself, these pages have told an inadequate but fair and truthful story.

Governor John Lee Carroll was one of the ablest and best men the State of Maryland ever produced. He was the Centennial Governor of the Commonwealth, and no State of the Union in 1876 had a chief executive of whom her citizens could be or were more justly proud.

Mr. Charles Carroll of Carrollton, head of the family, is a man of the finest social and business qualifications, and is a liberal contributor of money and effort to every worthy cause. He is much in

France of late, greatly to the advantage of every work in which his countrymen are interested.

Mr. Philip Acosta Carroll is now serving his country as captain in the Aviation service of the American Expeditionary Force in France. He is a brother of the present Charles Carroll of Carrollton.

Mr. Charles Bancroft Carroll, the youngest grown-up member of the family, is now serving his country as an officer in the United States Navy.

FROM AN OLD RECORD

Charles Carroll (alias O'Carroll), second son of Daniel O'Carroll of Litterluna, was of the Inner Temple, London; emigrated to Maryland, 1688; and dying in 1747, he left issue:

Charles Carroll of Doughoregan Manor, Howard County, Md., b. 1702; d. 1782; Attorney-General of Maryland. He m. Elizabeth Brooke, and had a son:

Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Md., b. 1737, d. 1832; Signer of the Declaration of Independence. He m., in 1768, Mary, daugther of Henry Darnall, Jr., and d. 1833. He left issue:

1. Charles Carroll, of whom presently.

2. Mary, m. Richard Caton of Maryland. They had four daughters: (1) Marianne, who m., 1st, Robert Patterson; 2dly, Oct. 25, 1825, Richard Colley, Marquis of Wellesley, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Gov. Gen. of India, and elder brother of Arthur, Duke of Wellington. (2) Elizabeth, m. Baron Stafford. (3) Louisa Katherine, m. 1st Sir Felton Bathhurst Hervey, Baronet; 2dly, 1828, Francis Godolphin D'Arcy, seventh Duke of Leeds. (4) Emily, m. John Mactavish, British Consul in Baltimore, father of Charles Carroll Mactavish, who married a daughter of Gen. Winfield Scott, U. S. A.

3. Catherine, m. Gen. Robert Goodloe Harper of South Carolina, and had: (1) Charles, m. Miss Chafelle of South Carolina (2) Robert, died at sea (3) Emily.

Col. Charles Carroll, only son of Charles Carroll, the signer, d. 1861; m. 1799, Harriet Chew, daughter of Hon. Benjamin Chew, Chief Justice of Pennsylvania, and had issue:

1. Charles, of whom presently.

2. Mary Sophia, b. 1804; d. at Philadelphia 1886; m. Richard H. Bayard, U. S. Senator from Delaware; d. at Philadelphia 1868. They had: (1) Mary Louisa, m., 1st William Henry Beck, d. 1859; 2dly, Col. Manlio Battarina. (2) Caroline, m. Henry Baring Powell of Philadelphia; d. 1852, and had: Mary de Vaux, wife of Rev. George Woolsey Hodge of Philadelphia; issue. (3) Elizabeth, m. Col. Frederick Henry Rich of English army. (4) Charles Carroll, U. N. N. (5) Richard Bassell, d. 1878; m. 1860, Ellen Gilmor Howard, and had: Ellen H., Richard H. (6) Harriet, m. Christian Börs of Norway; issue. (7) Louisa, m. Richard Ashhurst Bowie of Philadelphia; issue; Richard H. Bayard Bowie of Philadelphia.

3. Louisa, d. 1870; m. Isaac Rand Jackson of Philadelphia, d. 1842, and had: (1) Harriet Carroll, who m. Leonard Douglas H. Currie of the English army; issue. (2) Charles Carroll of New York, m. Minnie Coster; issue. (3) Oswald of New York, m. Ella Willing. (4) Mary Ellen, m. Nalbro Frazier, Jr., of Philadelphia; issue; Louisa, Helena C.

4. Harriet, m. John Lee of Needwood, Md., and had: (1) Mary Digges, d. 1868; m. Dr. Jonathan Letterman, U. S. A.; issue. (2) Dr. Charles Carroll of New York, m. Helen Parish of Philadelphia; issue. (3) Rev. Thomas L. Lee of Baltimore.

5. Elizabeth, m. Dr. Aaron B. Tucker of Baltimore, Md., and had: (1) Charles Carroll, who m. Susan Howell, and had: John H., Charles H. (2) St. George.

Charles Carroll of Doughoregan Manor, Mr., b. 1801; d. 1862; m. 1825, Mary Digges, daughter of John Lee of Norwood, Frederick Co., Md., and had issue:

1. Charles of Doughoregan Manor, d. s. p. He m. 1858, Caroline, daughter of Judge Lucas P. Thompson, of Staunton, Va.

2. John Lee of Doughoregan Manor, ex-Governor of Maryland. He m. 1st, 1856, Anita, daughter of Royal Phelps of New York; she d. 1873. He m. 2dly, Mary Carter, daughter of Judge Lucas P. Thompson, of Staunton, Va. and had: Philip Acosta. By his first wife he had (1) Charles, m. Suzanne Bancroft. (2) Mary Louise, m. 8 Dec. 1886, Count Jean de Kergolay. (3) Royal Phelps of New York, m., 1891, Marion, daughter of Eugene Langdon. (4) Helen, m. Herbert Daniel Robbins. (5) John Lee. (6) Anita, m. 14 Oct. 1886, Baron Louis La Grange. (7) Mary Irene, d. unm. 8 Nov. 1888.

3. Louise, m. George Cavendish Taylor of England; issue.

4. Albert Henry, C. S. A., killed in battle 1862; m., 1858, Mary Cornelia, daughter of William George Read, and had: (1) Mary Sophia, (2) Mary Elinor. (3) Agnes.

5. Robert Goodloe Harper of Baltimore, m., 1st, Eleanor Thompson, d. s. p.; 2dly, 1872, Mary D. Lee of Frederick Co., Md., and had: (1) Albert. (2) Charles.

6. Helen Sophia, m., 1863, Charles Oliver O'Donnell, of Baltimore, and had: (1) John. (2) Mary Acosta. (3) Aline.

7. Mary, m. Dr. Elisee Acosta of Paris; issue.

8. Thomas Lee of Baltimore.

Charles Carroll of Carrollton, the present head of the family, is the son of Governor John Lee Carroll. He married Miss Suzanne Bancroft, granddaughter of George Bancroft, the historian.

His son is Charles Bancroft Carroll, who married Miss Anita Hack of Baltimore, in April, 1914. Mrs. Carroll is the daughter of Mr. Frederick H. Hack of Baltimore and granddaughter of Mr. B. F. Newcomer. Mr. and Mrs. Charles Bancroft Carroll have two children, Charles Carroll and Anita Marie Louise Carroll. Mr. Charles Bancroft Carroll is an officer in the United States Navy.

CHAPTER XXIX

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

JULY 4, 1776

(REPORTED DRAFT)

A Declaration by the Representatives of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA in General Congress assembled.

When in the course of human events it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another and to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their creator with inherent & inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their happiness. Prudence indeed will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes: and accordingly all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which

they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations begun at a distinguished period and pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to expunge their former systems of government. The history of the present king of Great Britain is a history of unremitting injuries and usurpations, among which appears no solitary fact to contradict the uniform tenor of the rest; but all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this let facts be submitted to a candid world, for the truth of which we pledge a faith yet unsullied by falsehood.

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good:

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained, and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people unless those people would relinquish the right of representation, in the legislature, a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved Representative houses repeatedly and continually for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the right of the people:

He has refused for a long time after such dissolutions to cause others to be elected whereby the legislative powers incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise, the state remaining in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without and convulsions within:

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these states, for that purpose obstructing the laws of for naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither; and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands:

He has suffered the administration of justice totally to cease in some of these states, refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers:

He has made judges dependant on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices and the amount and payment of their salaries:

He has erected a multitude of new offices by a self assumed power and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people and eat out their substance:

He has kept among us in times of peace, standing armies and ships of war without the consent of our legislature:

He has affected to render the military, independent of and superior to the civil power:

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitutions and unacknowledged by our laws, giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation, for quartering large bodies of armed troops among us; for protecting them by a mock trial from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these states; for cutting off our trade with all parts of the world; for imposing taxes on us without our consent; for depriving us in many cases of the benefits of trial by jury; for transporting us beyond seas to be tried for

pretended offences; for abolising the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government and enlarging its boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies; for taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and fundamentally the forms of our governments, for suspending our own legislatures and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever:

He has abdicated governments here, withdrawing his governors, and declaring us out of his allegiance and protection.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns and destroyed the lives of our people:

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation and tyranny already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy unworthy the head of a civilized nation:

He has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions of existence.

He has incited treasonable insurrections of our fellow-citizens, with the allurements of forfeiture and confiscation of our property:

He has constrained others, taken captive on the high seas to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands:

He has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of distant people, who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery in

another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of infidel powers, is the warfare of the Christian king of Great Britain. Determined to keep open a market where Men should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this execrable commerce: and that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished dye, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms among us, and to purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them by murdering the people upon whom he also obtruded them; thus paying off former crime committed against the liberties of one people, with crimes which he urges them to commit against the lives of another.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injuries. A prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a people who mean to be free. Future ages will scarce believe that the hardiness of one man adventured within the short compass of twelve years only, to build a foundation, so broad and undisguised for tyranny over a people fostered and fixed in the principles of freedom.

Nor have we been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over these our states. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here, no one of which could warrant so strange a pretension: that these were effected at the expense of our own blood and treasure,

unassisted by the wealth of strength of Great Britain: that in constituting indeed our several forms of government, we had adopted a common king, thereby laying a foundation for perpetual league and amity with them: but that submission to their parliament was no part of our constitution nor ever in idea, if history be credited; and we have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, as well as to the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations which were likely to interrupt our connection and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity, and when occasions have been given them, by the regular course of their laws of removing from their councils the disturbers of our harmony, they have by their free elections re-established them in power. At this very time they are permitting their chief magistrate to send over not only soldiers of our own blood, but Scotch and other foreign mercenaries, to invade and destroy us. These facts have given the last stab to agonizing affections, and manly spirit bids us to renounce forever these unfeeling brethren. We must endeavor to forget our former love for them, to hold them as we hold the rest of mankind enemies in war, in peace friends.

We might have been a free and a great people together; but a communication of grandeur and of freedom it seems, is below their dignity. Be it so, since they will have it: the road to happiness and to glory is open to us too; we will climb it apart from them, and acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our eternal separation!

We therefore the representatives of the United States in General Congress assembled in the name and by authority of the good people of these states, reject and renounce all allegiance and subjection to the

kings of Great Britain and all others who may hereafter claim by, through, or under them; we utterly dissolve all political connection which may heretofore have subsisted between us and the people of parliament of Great Britain, and finally we do assert and declare these colonies to be free and independant, and that as free and independant states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And for the support of this declaration we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour.

(ENGROSSED COPY)

In Congress, July 4, 1776. The Unanimous Declaration of the thirteen United States of America.

When in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness. — That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.—That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpation pursuing invariably the same Object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security. Such has been the patient suffer-

ance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this let Facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their opinion till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public Records, for the sule purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused for a long time after such dissolutions to cause others to be elected, whereby the Legislative powers, incapable of Annihilation have returned to the People at large for their exercise, the State remaining, in the meantime, exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass

others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.

He has obstructed the Administration of Justice by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary powers.

He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harass the people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies without the Consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation: — For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us: — For protecting them, by a mock Trial from punishment from any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of the States: — For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world: — For imposing Taxes on us without our Consent: — For depriving us in many cases of the benefits of Trial by jury: — For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offences: — For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies: — For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments: — For

suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated Government here by declaring us out of his Protection and waging war against us:—

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the Lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large Armies of foreign Mercenaries to compleat the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation.

He has excited domestic insurrection among us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontier, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

He has constrained our fellow citizens taken Captive on the high Seas, to bear arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethen, or to fall themselves by their Hands.

In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injuries.

A Prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have We been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native

justice and magnanimity and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations which would inevitably interrupt our connection and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must therefore acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States; that they are Absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent states, they have full power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do.

And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes, and our Sacred Honor.

APPENDIX

THE JOURNAL

No life of Charles Carroll of Carrollton would be complete without having this Journal appended. Mr. Carroll regarded this trip as one of the very interesting experiences of his life and always discussed it with great interest and pleasure.

Congress and General Washington believed that a clearer understanding between this country and Canada should be assured. To that end a commission was named to go to Canada and endeavor to bring about a better understanding. This committee consisted of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, his cousin Rev. John Carroll, then a priest in Maryland, and afterwards the first Catholic Bishop of America, Benjamin Franklin and Samuel Chase.

April 2d, 1776. Left New York at 5 o'clock P. M.; sailed up North River or Hudson's, that afternoon, about thirteen miles. About one o'clock in the night were awaked by the firing of cannon; heard three great guns distinctly from the *Asia;* soon saw a great fire, which we presumed to be a house on Bedloe's Island, set on fire by a detachment of our troops. Intelligence had been received that the enemy were throwing up intrenchments on that island, and it had been determined by our generals to drive them off. Dr. Franklin went upon deck, and saw waving flashes of light appearing suddenly and disappearing, which he conjectured to be the fire of musketry, although he could not hear the report.

3rd. A bad, rainy day; wind north-east; quite ahead. A. M., eleven o'clock, opposite to Colonel Phillips' (a tory); pretty situation near the river; garden sloping down to it, house has a pretty appearance; a church a little distance on the south side, surrounded by cedar trees. The banks of the river, on the western side exceedingly steep and rocky; pine trees growing amidst the rocks. On the eastern or New York side, the banks are not near so steep, they decline pretty gradually to the water's edge. The river is straight hitherto. About five o'clock wind breezed up from the south; got under way, and ran with a pretty easy gale as far as the highlands, forty miles from New York. The river here is greatly contracted, and the lands on each side very lofty. When we got into this strait the wind increased, and blew in violent flaws; in doubling one of these steep craggy points we were in danger of running on the rocks; endeavored to double the cape called St. Anthony's nose, but all our efforts proved ineffectual; obliged to return some way back in the straits to seek shelter; in doing this our mainsail was split to pieces by a sudden and most violent blast of wind off the mountains. Came to anchor; blew a perfect storm all night and all day the fourth. Remained all day (the fourth) in Thunder Hill bay, about half a mile below Cape St. Anthony's nose, and a quarter of a mile from Thunder Hill. Our crew were employed all this day in repairing the mainsail. The country around about this bay has a wild and romantic appearance; the hills are almost perpendicularly steep, and covered with rocks and trees of a small size. The hill called St. Anthony's nose is said to be full of sulphur. I make no doubt this place has experienced some violent convulsion from subterraneous fire; the steepness of the hills, their correspondence, the nar-

rowness of the river, and its depth all confirm me in this opinion.

5th. Wind at north-east, mainsail not yet repaired. Sailed about twelve o'clock from Thunder Hill bay; just before we doubled Cape St. Anthony's nose, Mr. Chase and I landed to examine a beautiful fall of water. Mr. Chase, very apprehensive of the leg of mutton being boiled too much, impatient to get on board; wind breezing up, we had near a mile to row to overtake the vessel. As soon as we doubled Cape St. Anthony's nose a beautiful prospect opened on us. The river, from this place to Constitution fort, built on Marbler's rock, forms a fine canal, surrounded with high hills of various shapes, one, in particular, resembles a sugar loaf, and is so called. About three miles from Cape St. Anthony's nose is another beautiful cascade called "The Buttermilk." This is formed by a rivulet which flows from a lake on the top of a neighboring mountain, this lake, we were told, abounds with trout and perch. Arrived about five o'clock at Constitution fort; Mr. Chase went with me on shore to visit the fort; it is built on a rock called Marbler's rock; the river at this place makes a sudden bend to the west; the battery (for it does not deserve the name of a fort, being quite open on the northeast side) has two flanks, one fronting the south, and the other the west; — on the south flank were planted thirteen six and one nine pounder; on the west flank, seven nine pounders and one six pounder, but there were no cannoneers in the fort, and only one hundred and two men fit to do duty; — they intend to erect another battery on an eminence called Gravel hill, which will command vessels, coming up the river as soon as they double Cape St. Anthony's nose. A little above this cape a battery is projected to annoy the enemy's vessels, to be called Fort Montgomery; they intend another bat-

tery lower down the river, and a little below Cape St. Anthony's nose. In the highlands are many convenient spots to construct batteries on; but in order to make them answer the intended purpose, weighty metal should be placed on these batteries, and skillful gunners should be engaged to serve the artillery. About nine o'clock at night, the tide making, we weighed anchor, and came to again about two o'clock in the morning, the sixth instant. The river is remarkably deep all the way through the highlands, and the tide rapid. When we came to an anchor off Constitution fort we found the depth of water above thirty fathoms. These highlands present a number of romantic views, the steep hills overshadow the water, and in some places the rocks, should they be rolled down, would fall into the river several feet from the banks on which they stood. This river seems intended by nature to open a communication between Canada and the province of New York by water, and, by some great convulsion a passage has been opened to the waters of Hudson's River through the highlands. These are certainly a spur of the Endless mountains.

6th. Weighed anchor about seven o'clock in the morning; had a fine breeze; the country more cultivated above the highlands; passed several mills, all of them overshot; saw two frigates on the stocks at Pokeepsay, building for the service of the United Colonies; saw a great many lime-kilns in our run this morning, on both sides of the river, the banks of which begin to slope more gradually to the water's edge. We wrote to General Heath, from off the Constitution fort, and sent the letter to the commanding officer of the fort, with orders to forward it by express immediately to the general at New York. The purport of the letter was to inform the general of the very defenceless condition of the fort, that measures might be immediately

taken to put it in a better posture of defence. If Howe was a man of enterprise, and knew of the weak state of the fort, he might take it in it's present situation with sixty men, and without cannon. He might land his party a little below the fort on the east side, march over a marsh, and attack it on the back part. It was proposed to erect a battery of some cannon to sweep this marsh; but this, and also the battery above mentioned, on Gravel hill, have been strangely neglected, and nothing as yet has been done towards constructing either of these batteries, more than levelling the top of Gravel hill.

Six o'clock P. M., came to anchor four miles from Albany; had a most glorious run this day, and a most pleasant sail; including our run in the night, we ran this day ninety-six miles — Constitution fort being one hundred miles from Albany, and sixty from New York. We passed several country houses pleasantly situated on the banks, or rather, eminences commanding the banks of the river; the grounds we could discover from the vessel did not appear to be highly improved. We had a distant view of the Katskill mountains. These are said to be some of the highest in North America; they had a pleasing appearance, the weather being somewhat hazy, they appeared like bluish clouds at a great distance; when we were nearest to them, they were distant about ten miles. Vast tracts of land on each side of Hudson's river are held by the proprietaries, or, as they are here styled, the Patrones of manors. One of the Ransalaers has a grant of twenty miles on each side of the river. Mr. Robert R. Livingston informed me that he held three hundred thousand acres. I am told there are but ten original patentees between Albany and the Highlands. The descendants of the first proprietaries of these

immense tracts still keep them in possession; necessity has not as yet forced any of them to sell any part.

7th. Weighed anchor this morning about six o'clock. Wind fair; having passed over the overslaw, had a distinct view of Albany, distant about two miles;— landed at Albany at half past seven o'clock; received at landing, by General Schuyler, who, understanding we were coming up, came from his house, about a mile out of town, to receive us and invite us to dine with him; he behaved with great civility; lives in pretty style; has two daughters (Betsy and Peggy) lively, agreeable, black-eyed girls. Albany is situated partly on a level, and partly on the slope of a hill, or rising ground, on the west side of the river. Vessels drawing eight and nine feet of water may come to Albany, and five miles beyond it, at this season of the year, when the waters are out. The fort is in a ruinous condition, and not a single gun mounted on it. There are more houses in this town than in Annapolis, and I believe it to be much more populous. The citizens chiefly speak Dutch, being mostly the descendants of Dutchmen; but the English language and manners are getting ground apace.

9th. Left Albany early this morning, and travelled in a wagon in company with Mrs. Schuyler, her two daughters, and Generals Schuyler and Thomas. At six miles from Albany I quitted the wagon and got on horseback to accompany the generals to view the falls on the Mohawk's river, called the Cohoos. The perpendicular fall is seventy-four feet, and the breadth of the river at this place, as measured by General Schuyler, is one thousand feet. The fall is considerably above one hundred feet, taken from the first ripple or still water above the perpendicular fall. The river was swollen with the melting of the snows and rains, and rolled over the frightful precipice an impetuous

torrent. The foam, the irregularities in the fall broken by projecting rocks, and the deafening noise, presented a sublime but terrifying spectacle. At fifty yards from the place the water dropped from the trees, as it does after a plentiful shower, they being as wet with the ascending vapor as they commonly are after a smart rain of some continuance. The bottoms adjoining the river Hudson are fine lands, and appeared to be well cultivated; most of them that we passed through were in wheat, which though commonly overflowed in the spring, we were informed by our driver, suffered no hurt, but were rather improved by inundation. We arrived in the evening, a little before sunset, at Saratoga, the seat of General Schuyler, distant from Albany thirty-two miles. We spent the whole day in the journey, occasioned by the badness of the roads, and the delay the wagons met with in crossing two ferries. The roads at this season of the year are generally bad, but now worse than ever, owing to the great number of wagons employed in carrying the baggage of the regiments marching into Canada, and supplies to the army in that country. General Schuyler informed me that an uninterrupted water-carriage between New York and Quebec might be perfected at fifty thousand pounds sterling expense, by means of locks, and a small canal cut from a branch which falls into Hudson's river; the distance is not more than three miles. The river Richelieu or Sorel, is navigable for batteaux from the Lake Champlain into the St. Lawrence. The rapids, below St. John's, are not so considerable as to obstruct the navigation of such vessels.

The lands about Saratoga are very good, particularly the bottom lands. Hudson's river runs within a quarter of a mile of the house, and you have a pleasing view of it for two or three miles above and below.

A stream called Fishkill, which rises out of Lake Saratoga, about six miles from the general's house, runs close by it, and turns several mills; one, a grist mill, two saw mills (one of them carrying fourteen saw) and a hemp and flax mill. This mill is a new construction, and answers equally well in breaking hemp or flax. I requested the general to get a model made for me by the person who built it. Descriptions of machines are seldom accurately made, and when done with exactness are seldom understood. I was informed by the general that it is customary for the great proprietaries of lands to lease them out for three lives, sometimes on fee-farm-rents, reserving by way of rent, a fourth, or, more commonly, a tenth of all the produce; but the proprietaries content themselves with a tenth of the wheat. On every transmutation of property, from one tenant to another, a quarter part of what the land sells for is sometimes paid to the original proprietary, or lord of the manor. The general observed to me that this was much the most advantageous way of leasing lands; that in the course of a few years, from the frequent transmutations of tenants, the alienation fines would exceed the purchase of the fee-simple, though sold at a high valuation. General Schuyler is a man of a good understanding improved by reflection and study; he is of a very active turn, and fond of husbandry, and when the present distractions are composed, if his infirm state of health will permit him, will make Saratoga a most beautiful and most valuable estate. He saws up great quantities of plank at his mills, which before this war, was disposed of in the neighborhood, but the greater part of it sent to Albany.

11th. Generals Thomas and Schuyler set off this morning for Lake George; the former to be in readiness to cross the lake on the first breaking up of the

ice, the latter to forward the embarkation and transportation of military stores and supplies.

12th. It snowed all this morning until eleven o'clock; the snow above six inches deep on the ground; it was not off the neighboring hills when we left Saratoga.

16th. This morning we set off from Saratoga; I parted with regret from the amiable family of General Schuyler: the ease and affability with which we were treated, and the lively behavior of the young ladies, made Saratoga a most pleasant sejour, the remembrance of which will long remain with me. We rode from Saratoga to McNeill's ferry (distance two miles and a half), crossed Hudson's river at this place and rode on to one mile above Fort Miller, which is distant from McNeill's two miles. A Mr. Dover has a country-seat near Fort Miller; you see his house from the road. There is a very considerable fall in the river at Fort Miller. Just above it our baggage was put into another boat; it had been brought in a wagon from Saratoga to McNeill's, carried over the ferry in a wagon, and then put on board a boat, in which it was conveyed to the foot of Fort Miller Falls; then carried overland a quarter of a mile and put into a second boat. At a mile from Fort Miller we got into a boat and went up the Hudson river to Fort Edward. Although this fort is but seven miles distant from the place where we took boat, we were above four hours rowing up. The current is exceedingly rapid, and the rapidity was increased by a freshet. In many places the current was so strong that the batteau men were obliged to set up with poles, and drag the boat by the painter. Although these fellows were active and expert at this business, it was with the greatest difficulty they could stem the current in particular places. The congress keeps in pay three companies of batteau men on Hudson's river, consisting each of thirty-three

men with a captain; the pay of the men is £4.10 per month. The lands bordering on Hudson's river, as you approach Fort Edward, become more sandy, and the principal wood that grows on them is pine. There are several saw mills both above and below Fort Miller. The planks sawed at the mills above Fort Miller are made up into small rafts and left without guides to the current of the river; each one is marked, so that the raftmen that remain just below Fort Miller Falls, watching for them coming down, may easily know their own rafts. When they come over the falls they go out in canoes and boats and tow their rafts ashore, and then take them to pieces and make them again into larger rafts. The smaller rafts are called cribs. The ruins only of Fort Edward remain; there is a good, large inn, where we found quartered Colonel Sinclair's regiment. Mr. Allen, son of old Mr. Allen, is lieutenant-colonel; he received us very politely, and accommodated us with beds. The officers of this regiment are, in general, fine sized men, and seemed to be on a friendly footing; the soldiers also are stout fellows.

17th. Having breakfasted with Colonel Allen, we set off from Fort Edward on our way to Fort George. We had not got a mile from the fort when a messenger from General Schuyler met us. He was sent with a letter by the general to inform us that Lake George was not open, and to desire us to remain at an inn kept by one Wing at seven miles distance from Fort Edward and as many from Fort George. The country between Wing's tavern and Fort Edward is very sandy and somewhat hilly. The principal wood is pine. At Fort Edward the river Hudson makes a sudden turn to the westward; it soon again resumes its former north course, for, at a small distance, we found it on our left and parallel with the road which we travelled, and which, from Fort Edward to Fort

George, lies nearly north and south. At three miles, or thereabouts, from Fort Edward, is a remarkable fall in the river. We could see it from the road, but not so as to form any judgment of its height. We were informed that it was upwards of thirty feet, and is called the Kingsbury falls. We could distinctly see the spray arising like a vapor or fog from the violence of the fall. The banks of the river, above and below these falls for a mile or two, are remarkably steep and high, and appear to be formed or faced with a kind of stone very much resembling slate. The banks of the Mohawk's river at the Cohooes are faced with the same sort of stone; it is said to be an indication of sea-coal. Mr. Wing's tavern is in the township of Queensbury, and Charlotte county; Hudson's river is not above a quarter of a mile from his house. There is a most beautiful fall in the river at this place. From still water, to the foot of the fall, I imagine the fall cannot be less than sixty feet, but the fall is not perpendicular; it may be about a hundred and twenty or a hundred and fifty feet long, and in this length, it is broken into three distinct falls, one of which may be twenty-five feet nearly perpendicular. I saw Mr. Wing's patent — the reserved quit-rent is two shillings and six-pence sterling per hundred acres; but he informs me it has never been yet collected.

18th. We set off from Wing's tavern about twelve o'clock this day, and reached Fort George about two o'clock; the distance is eight miles and a half; you cannot discover the lake until you come to the heights surrounding it, the descent from which to the lake is nearly a mile long; from these heights you have a beautiful view of the lake for fifteen miles down it. Its greatest breadth during these fifteen miles does not exceed a mile and a quarter, to judge by the eye, which, however, is a very fallacious way of estimating dis-

tances. Several rocky islands appear in the lake, covered with a species of cedar called here hemlock. Fort George is in as ruinous a condition as Fort Edward, it is a small bastion, faced with stone, and built on an eminence commanding the head of the lake. There are some barracks in it in which the troops were quartered, or rather one barrack, which occupied almost the whole space between the walls. At a little distance from this fort, and to the westward of it, is the spot where the Baron Dieskau was defeated by Sir William Johnson. About a quarter of a mile further to the westward the small remains of Fort William Henry are to be seen across a little rivulet which forms a swamp, and is the morass mentioned by Sir William Johnson in his account of the action with Dieskau. Fort William Henry was taken last year by Montcalm and destroyed; the garrison, consisting of four hundred men and sixteen hundred others that were intrenched without the fort, capitulated; a considerable part of these men were murdered by the Indians on their march to Fort Edward, after they had delivered up their arms, according to the terms of capitulation. The bay in which Montcalm landed is seen from Fort George; he left a guard of five hundred men only to protect the boats and artillery and marched round over the heights to come to the southward of Fort William Henry. When on these heights he discovered the intrenched body without the fort, and seeing the great indiscretion he had been guilty of in leaving so small a force to guard his baggage and boats, he rashly marched back to secure them. Had our troops attacked Montcalm's five hundred men they would probably have defeated them, taken his cannon and boats and forced him to surrender with his whole army. There was nothing to impede the attack but want of enterprise and conduct in the commanding

officer. The neighborhood of Fort George abounds with limestone and so, indeed, does all the country surrounding the lake and all the island in it. Their rocky coast and bottom contribute, no doubt, to the clearness of the lake water. Never did I see water more transparent, and to this transparency, no doubt, must be ascribed the excellency of the fish in this lake, which much exceed the fish in Lake Champlain. Lake George abounds with perch, trout, rock, and eels.

19th. We embarked at Fort George this evening, about one o'clock, in company with General Schuyler, and landed in Montcalm's bay about four miles from Fort George. After drinking tea on shore, and arranging matters in our boats, we again embarked and went about three or four miles further, then landed (the sun being set), and kindled fires on shore. The longest of the boats, made for the transportation of the troops over Lakes George and Champlain, are thirty-six feet in length and eight feet wide; they draw about a foot of water when loaded, and carry between thirty and forty men, and are rowed by the soldiers. They have a mast fixed in them to which a square sail or a blanket is fastened, but these sails are of no use unless with the wind abaft or nearly so. After we left Montcalm bay we were delayed considerably in getting through the ice, but, with the help of tent poles, we opened ourselves a passage through it into free water. The boats fitted up to carry us across had awnings over them, under which we made up our beds, and my fellow travellers slept comfortably; but this was not my case, for I was indisposed the whole night with a violent sickness at my stomach and vomiting, occasioned by an indigestion. We left the place where we passed the night very early on the 20th.

20th. We had gone some miles before I rose; soon after I got out of bed we found ourselves entangled in

the ice. We attempted, but in vain, to break through it in one place, but were obliged to desist and force our passage through another, which we effected without much difficulty. At eight o'clock we landed to breakfast. After breakfast the general looked to his small boat; being desirous to reach the landing at the north end of Lake George we set off together, but the general's boat and the other boat, with part of the luggage, soon got before us a considerable way. After separating we luckily fell in with the boat bringing the Montreal and Canada mail, by which we were informed that the west shore of the lake, at a place called Sabatay, was much encumbered with ice, but that there was a free passage on the east side; accordingly we kept along the east shore and found it free from ice, by which means we got before the general and the other boat, for the general, who was foremost, had been delayed above an hour in breaking through the ice and, in one place, was obliged to haul his boat over a piece or neck of land thirty feet broad. Dr. Franklin found in the Canada mail, which he opened, a letter for General Schuyler. When we had weathered Sabatay point we stood over for the western shore of the lake, and a mile or two below the point we were overtaken by the general, from whom we learned the cause of his delay. Mr. Chase and myself went on board the general's boat and reached the landing place at the south end of Lake George near two hours before the other boats. Lake George lies nearly north and south, or rather, as I think, somewhat to the eastward of a due north course. Its shores are remarkably steep, high, and rocky (particularly the east shore) and are covered with pine and cedar, or what is here termed hemlock; the country is wild and appears utterly incapable of cultivation; it is a fine deer country, and likely to remain so, for I think it never will be inhabited.

I speak of the shores, and I am told the inland country resembles these. The lake, in its greatest width, does not exceed, I think, two miles; the widest part is nearest the north end, immediately before you enter the last narrows, which are not, in their greatest width, above half a mile. There are two places where the lake is considerably contracted, one about the middle of it, the other, as I have said, at the north end; this last gradually contracts itself in breadth to the size of an inconsiderable river and, suddenly, in depth, to that of a very shallow one. The landing place of Lake George is a few yards to the southward of the first fall or ripple in this river, through which the waters of Lake George drain into Lake Champlain. We passed through this ripple and, though our boat did not draw above seven or eight inches, her bottom raked the rocks; the water ran through this passage about as swift as it does through your tail race. From the landing place to Ticonderoga it is three miles and a half. The boats, in coming through Lake George, pass through the passage just described and unload at a quarter of a mile below the usual landing place. Their contents are then put into wagons and carried over to Ticonderoga. General Schuyler has erected a machine for raising the boats when emptied and then letting them gently down on a carriage constructed for the purpose, on which they are drawn overland to Ticonderoga, on Lake Champlain, to carry the troops over the last mentioned lake and down the Sorel into the river St. Lawrence. These carriages consist of four wheels, united by a long sapling, at the extremities of which the wheels are placed; over the axletrees is fixed a piece of wood on which each end of the boat is supported and made fast by a rope secured round a bolt at the undermost part and in the centre of the axletree. This bolt is made of

iron, and passes through the aforesaid pieces of wood and the axletree. These carriages are drawn by six oxen, and this morning (21st instant) I saw three or four boats carried over upon them. Lake George, from the south end of it to the landing place at the north extremity, is thirty-six miles long. Its average width does not, I think, exceed a mile, and this breadth is interspersed and broken by innumerable little rocky islands formed of limestone, the shores of which are commonly so steep that you may step from the rocks into ten or twelve feet of water. The season was not sufficiently advanced to admit of catching fish, a circumstance we had reason to regret, as they are so highly praised by the connoisseurs in good eating and as one of our company is so excellent a judge in this science. There are no considerable rivers that empty themselves into Lake George. We saw some brooks or rivulets which, I presume, after the melting of the snows, are almost dry. The lake must be fed, principally with springs, the melting of snows and the torrents that must pour into it from its high and steep shores after rains. As there is no considerable river that flows into it, so is the vent of its water into Lake Champlain very inconsiderable. In summer you may step, dry-footed, from rock to rock, in the place which I have called the first ripple, and which I said we passed coming out of Lake George. The water suddenly shallows from a great depth to nine or ten feet or less. This change is immediately discoverable by the great change in the color of the water. The lake water is of a dark bluish cast, and the water of the river of a whitish color, owing not only to the difference of the depth, but the difference of the bottoms and shores which, adjoining the river, are of white clay.

21st. I took a walk this evening to the saw mill which is built on the principal fall of the river flowing

from Lake George into Lake Champlain. At the foot of this fall, which is about thirteen feet high, the river is navigable for batteaux into Lake Champlain. From the saw mill to the place where the batteaux are put on carriages to be carried overland the distance is one mile and a half. I saw them unload a boat from the carriage and launch it at the same time into the river; this was performed by thirty-five or forty men. To-day they carried over this portage fifty batteaux. I saw the forty-eighth put on the carriage. A little to the northwestward of the saw mill, on the west side of the river, I visited the spot where Lord Howe was killed. At a small expense a continued navigation for batteaux might be made between the Lakes George and Champlain by means of a few locks. General Schuyler informed me that locks, sufficient and adequate to the above purpose, might be constructed for fifteen hundred pounds sterling. There are but four or five falls in this river, the greatest of which is not above fourteen or fifteen feet. But the general informs me a much more advantageous water carriage may be opened through Wood creek which falls into Lake Champlain at Skeensborough, twenty-eight miles south of Ticonderoga. The general proposes to have this creek accurately surveyed, the heights ascertained, and estimate made of the expense of erecting locks on Wood creek and the most convenient branch which heads near it and falls into Hudson's river. If this water communication between Lake Champlain and the province of New York should be perfected there is little danger of the enemy's gaining the mastery of Lake Champlain, or of their ever having it in their power to invade these colonies from Canada with any prospect of success, besides the security which will be obtained for the colonies in time of war by making this navigation. Trade, during peace, will be greatly

benefited by it, as there will then be a continued water communication between New York and Canada without the inconvenience and expense attending the portage overland.

22nd. I this morning took a ride with General Schuyler across the portage, or from the landing place at the bottom of Lake George, to Ticonderoga. The landing place is properly on the river which runs out of Lake George into Lake Champlain, and may be a mile and a half from the place where the former may be said to terminate, *i. e.*, where the lake is contracted into a river, as a current and shallow water. This river, computing its length from the aforesaid spot to the foot of the falls at the saw mills, and its windings, which are inconsiderable, is not more than four or five miles long. From the foot of the saw mill falls there is still water into Lake Champlain; it is at the foot of these falls that the batteaux, brought overland, are launched into the water and the artillery and the apparatus belonging to it are embarked in them; the stores, such as provisions, ball, powder, etc., are embarked from Ticonderoga. At sixty or seventy yards below the saw mill there is a bridge built over the river — this bridge was built by the king during the last war — the road from the landing place to Ticonderoga passes over it and you then have the river on the right; when you have passed the bridge you immediately ascend a pretty high hill and keep ascending till you reach the famous lines made by the French in the last war, which Abercrombie was so infatuated as to attack with musketry only — his cannon was lying at the bridge about a mile or something better from these lines. The event of the day is too well known to be mentioned; we lost (killed and wounded) near one thousand, six hundred men; had the cannon been brought up the French would not have

waited to be attacked — it was morally impossible to succeed against these lines with small arms only, particularly in the manner they were attacked; our army passing before them and receiving a fire from the whole extent; whereas, had it marched lower down, or to the northwest of these lines it would have flanked them; they were constructed of large trunks of trees, felled on each other, with earth thrown up against them. On the side next the French troops they had, besides felling trees, lopped and sharpened their branches and turned them towards the enemy; the trunks of the trees remain to this day piled up as described, but are fast going to decay. As soon as you enter these lines you have a full view of Lake Champlain and Ticonderoga fort, distant about a quarter of a mile. The land from thence gradually declines to the spot on which the fort is built. Lake Champlain empties itself opposite the fort and runs south twenty-eight miles to Skeensborough. Crown Point is fifteen miles down the lake from Ticonderoga. The lake is nowhere broad in sight of the last mentioned place, but the prospect from it is very pleasing; its shores are not as steep as those of Lake George; they rise gradually from the water and are covered more thickly with woods which grow in good soils, or at least in soils much better than can be seen on Lake George. There is but one settlement on the latter, at Sabatay point; I understood there were about sixty acres of good land at that point. Ticonderoga fort is in a ruinous condition; it was once a tolerable fortification. The ramparts are faced with stone. I saw a few pieces of cannon mounted on one bastion, more for show, I apprehend, than service. In the present state of affairs this fort is of no other use than as an entrepot or magazine for stores, as from this place all supplies for our army in Canada are shipped to go

down Lake Champlain. I saw four vessels, viz., three schooners and one sloop; these are to be armed to keep the mastery of the lake in case we should lose St. John's and be driven out of Canada; in the meantime they will be employed in carrying supplies to our troops in that country. Of these three schooners two were taken from the enemy on the surrender of St. John's; one of them is called the "Royal Savage," and is pierced for twelve guns; she had, when taken, twelve brass pieces, I think four- and six-pounders; these were sent to Boston. She is really a fine vessel and built on purpose for fighting; however, some repairs are wanted; a new mainmast must be put in, her old one being shattered with one of our cannon balls. When these vessels are completely rigged, armed and manned, we may defy the enemy on Lake Champlain for this summer and fall at least, even should we unfortunately be driven out of Canada. When our small army last summer, or rather fall (in number about one thousand seven hundred) came to Isle aux Noix this vessel was almost ready to put to sea, she wanted only as much to be done to her as could easily have been finished in three days, had the enemy exerted themselves. Had she ventured out our expedition to Canada must have failed and probably our whole army must have surrendered, for she was greatly an overmatch for all the naval strength we then had on the lake. Had Preston, who commanded at St. John's, ventured out with his garrison, consisting of six hundred men, and attacked our people at their first landing he would in all probability have defeated them, as they were a mere undisciplined rabble, made up chiefly of the offings and outcasts of New York.

23rd. We continued this day at the landing place, our boats not being yet ready and fitted to carry us

through Lake Champlain. General Schuyler and the troops were busily engaged in carting overland to the saw mill the batteaux, cannon, artillery stores, provisions, etc., there to be embarked on the navigable waters of Lake Champlain and transported over that lake to St. John's.

24th. We this day left the landing place at Lake George and took boat at the saw mill. From the saw mill to Ticonderoga the distance by water is about a mile; the water is shallow, but sufficiently deep for batteau navigation. A little below the bridge before mentioned the French, during the last war, drove pickets into the river to prevent our boats getting round from the saw mill to Ticonderoga with the artillery; some of the pickets still remain, for both our boats struck on them. Ticonderoga fort is beautifully situated, but, as I said before, it is in a ruinous condition; neither is the place, in my opinion, judicially chosen for the construction of a fort; a fort constructed at the saw mill would much better secure the passage or pass into the province of New York by way of Lake George. Having waited at Ticonderoga an hour or two to take in provisions for the crews of both boats, consisting entirely of soldiers, we embarked at eleven o'clock and reached Crown Point a little after three with the help of our oars only. Crown Point is distant from Ticonderoga only fifteen miles. The lake all the way from one part to another is narrow, scarce exceeding a mile on an average. Crown Point is situated on a neck or isthmus of land on the west side of the lake; it is in ruins. It was once a considerable fortress and the English must have expended a large sum in constructing the fort and erecting the barracks, which are also in ruins. A great part of the ditch is cut out of the solid limestone rock. This ditch was made by blowing the rocks, as the holes bored for

the gunpowder are plainly to be seen in the fragments. By some accident the fort took fire, the flames communicated to the powder magazine, containing at that time ninety-six barrels. The shock was so great as to throw down the barracks, at least the upper stories. The explosion was distinctly heard ten miles off, and the earth shook at that distance as if there had been an earthquake. This intelligence I received from one Faris, who lives ten miles down the lake and at whose house we lay this night. The woodwork of the barracks is entirely consumed by fire, but the stonework of the first stories might be easily repaired and one of these barracks might be converted into a fine manufactory. The erecting of these barracks and the fort must have cost the government not less, I dare say, than one hundred thousand pounds sterling. The lake is narrow opposite the fort and makes a bend by which the vessels passing on the lake were much exposed to the artillery of the fort, and this advantageous situation first induced the French and then the English to erect a fort here. The French fort was inconsiderable and close to the water; the English fort is a much more extensive fortification and farther from the lake, but so as to command it.

25th. We set off from Faris's at five o'clock in the morning. If Faris's information may be relied on, his and the neighboring lands are exceedingly fine; he told us he had reaped thirty bushels of wheat from the acre; the soil appears to be good, but, to judge of it from its appearance, I should not think it so fertile. Three miles north of Faris's the lake begins to contract itself and this contraction continues for six miles and is called the narrows. At Faris's the lake is about two miles wide. We breakfasted in a small cove at a little distance to the southward of the Split Rock. The Split rock is nine miles from Faris's house.

At the Split rock the lake grows immediately wider as you go down it; its width in this place cannot be much short of seven miles. When we had got four or five miles from the rock the wind headed us and blew a fresh gale, which occasioned a considerable swell on the lake, the wind being northeast and having a reach of twenty miles. We were constrained to put in at one McCaully's, where we dined on cold provisions. The wind abating about four o'clock, we put off again and rowed seven miles down the lake to a point of land a mile or two to the southward of four islands, called the Four Brothers; these islands lie nearly in the middle of the lake, which is very wide in this place, and continues so far as you can see down it. Mr. Chase and I slept this night on shore under a tent made of bushes.

26th. We set off this morning at four o'clock from the last mentioned point, which I call "Commissioners' Point." Wind fair; a pretty breeze. At five o'clock reached Schuyler's Island; it contains eight hundred acres and belongs to Montreson, distant seven miles from the Four Brothers. Schuyler's Island lies near the western shore. The lake continues wide; at ten o'clock got to Cumberland head, fourteen miles from Schuyler's Island. Cumberland head is the south point of Cumberland bay. The bay forms a deep recess on the western side of the lake; its length, from Schuyler's Island, at th epoint of land opposite to it, to Cumberland head-land is fourteen miles, and its depth not less than nine or ten miles. The wind luckily favored us until we reached Cumberland head; it then ceased; it grew cloudy and soon began to rain, and the wind shifted to the northeast. We breakfasted at Cumberland head on tea and good biscuit, our usual breakfast, having provided ourselves with the necessary furniture for such a breakfast. As soon

as it cleared up we rowed across the bay, about four miles wide, to Point aux Roches, so called from the rocks of which it is formed. Indeed it is one entire stone wall, fifteen feet high, but gradually inclined to the northeast. At that extremity it is little above the water. Having made a short stay at this place to refresh our men, we rowed round the point, hugged the western shore, and got into a cove which forms a very safe harbor. But the ground being low and swampy, and no cedar or hemlock trees, of the branches of which our men formed their tents at night, we thought proper to cross over to Isle la Motte, bearing from us about northeast, and distant three miles. The island is nine miles long and one broad. The southwest side of it is high land, and the water is deep close in shore, which is rocky and steep. We lay under this shore all night in a critical situation, for had the wind blown hard in the night, from the west, our boats would probably have been stove against the rocks. We passed the night on board the boats, under the awning which had been fitted up for us. This awning could effectually secure us from the wind and rain, and there was space enough under it to make up four beds. The beds we were provident enough to take with us from Philadelphia. We found them not only convenient and comfortable, but necessary, for without this precaution, persons travelling from the colonies into Canada at this season of the year, or indeed at any other, will find themselves obliged either to sit up all night, or to lie on the bare ground or planks. Several of the islands in Lake Champlain have different claimants, as patents have been granted by the French government and the government of New York. According to the present division, most of them, indeed all, except Isle aux Noix, are in the colony of New York.

27th. A fine morning. We left our nation's station

at four o'clock and rowed ten miles to Point aux Fer, so called from some iron mines at no great distance from it; the land here, and all the adjacent country, is very flat and low. Colonel Christie has built a house at this point, which is intended for a tavern; the place is judiciously chosen. A small current begins here, and the raftesmen are not obliged to row; after they bring their rafts to Point aux Fer, the current will carry them in a day to St. John's, which is distant from this point thirty measured miles. Windmill point is three miles below Point aux Fer; and, a mile or two below the former, runs the line which divides the province of Quebec from New York. At Windmill point the lake begins to contract itself to the size of a river, but of a large and deep one. Opposite to this point the width cannot be much short of two miles; six miles, below Windmill point, you meet with a small island called Isle aux Tetes: from a number of heads that were stuck upon poles by the Indians after a great battle that was fought between them on this island or near it. At this island the current is not only perceptible but strong. We went close by the island and in shallow water, which gave us a better opportunity of observing the swiftness of the current. A mile or two below this island, we breakfasted at a tavern kept by one Stodd. At Isle aux Tetes, the river Richelieu, or St. John's, or Sorel, (for it goes by all these names) may be properly said to begin. It is in this place above a mile wide, deep, and the current considerable— its banks are almost level with the water — indeed, the water appears to be rather above the banks, the country is one continued swamp, overflowed by the river at this season; as you approach St. John's the current grows stronger. Isle aux Noix is half way between St. John's and Point aux Fer, and conse-

quently fifteen miles from each; we passed close by it; it is very level and low, covered at the north end with hazel bushes; but the land is higher than the banks of the river. We saw the intrenchments thrown up by the French during the last war, and the remains of the pickets driven into the river, quite across to the island, to prevent the English boats from getting down to St. John's. These fortifications induced General Amherst to penetrate into Canada by Oswego lake and the St. Lawrence, rather than run the hazard of being stopped at Isle aux Noix. Indeed, I believe he would have found it a difficult matter to force his way through this pass, which appears to me of great consequence in the present contest, should the forces of the United Colonies be obliged to evacuate Canada; for if we occupy and fortify this island, drive pickets into the river, and build row galleys and place them behind the pickets, or between the little islets formed by the several smaller islands, almost contiguous to Isle aux Noix, the enemy will not be able to penetrate into the colonies from Canada by the way of Lake Champlain. It is certain that Amherst, rather than expose himself to the disgrace of being foiled at this post, chose to make a roundabout march of several hundred leagues, and encounter the rapids of the St. Lawrence, by which he lost some of his boats and several hundred men. Having passed the Isle aux Noix, the wind sprang up in our favor; assisted by the wind and current, we reached St. John's at three o'clock. Before I speak of this fortress, it may not be improper to make some remarks on the navigation of Lake Champlain, the adjacent country, and its appearance. The navigation appears to be very secure, as there are many inlets, coves and harbors, in which such vessels as will be used on the lake may at all times find shelter; the water is deep, at least wher-

ever we touched, close in with the land. There are several islands in the lakes, the most considerable of which we saw; the principal is Grand Isle; it deserves the appellation, being, as we were informed, twenty-seven miles long, and three or four miles wide. Isle la Motte is the next largest and Isle de Belle Cour ranks after that. Isle la Motte we touched at; the others we could plainly distinguish. We saw several of the islands on the eastern shore of the lake, some of which appear as large as Poplar's island; but having no person on board our boats acquainted with the lake, we could not learn their names. The lake, on an average, may be six miles broad; in some places it is above fifteen miles wide, particularly about Cumberland bay and Schuyler's island; but in others it is not three miles, and in the narrows not above a mile and a half, to judge by the eye. As you go down the lake, the mountains which hem it in on the east and west extend themselves wider, and leave a greater extent of fine level land between them and the lake on each shore. Some of these mountains are remarkably high. In many places, on or near their tops, the snow still remains. They form several picturesque views, and contribute much, in my opinion, to the beauty of the lake. The snow not dissolving, in their latitude, at the end of April is a proof of their height; the distance at which some of these mountains are visible is a still stronger proof. Several of them may be distinctly seen from Montreal, which cannot be a less distance from the most remote than seventy or eighty miles, and I am inclined to think considerably further. If America should succeed, and establish liberty throughout this part of the continent, I have not the least doubt that the lands bordering on Lake Champlain will be very valuable in a short time, and that great trade will be carried on over Lake Champlain, between

Canada and New York. An easy water communication may be opened at no great expense, (if General Schuyler be not mistaken) between the cities of New York, Montreal and Quebec, and several other places in Canada. Richelieu, or Sorel river from Isle aux Tetes to St. John's, would be esteemed a large river even in Maryland. The navigation of it between these places is good, for the current is not so strong as not to be stemmed with oars, or a wind. At St. John's the current is very rapid, and continues so, sometimes more, sometimes less, to Chamblay, distant twelve miles from St. John's. Opposite St. John's, I think the river is half a mile wide.

The fortifications of St. John's were not injured by the siege — they consist of earth ramparts, enclosed by a ditch filled with water; palisadoes, closely joined together, are fastened at the base of the ramparts, and confined by the weight of them projecting half way over the ditch, to prevent an escalade. There are, properly speaking, two forts built around some houses, which were converted into magazines and barracks; the communication between the two is secured by a strong enclosure of large stakes driven deep into the ground, and as close as they can stand together. A ditch runs along this fence. The houses within the forts suffered much from our batteries which surrounded the forts, but the cannon was not heavy enough to make any impression on the works. Want of ammunition and provisions, and the inclemency of the season, obliged the garrison to surrender; for the soldiers were constrained to hide themselves in the cellars, which are bomb-proof, or lie behind the mounds of earth thrown up within the forts, exposed to the severity of the cold and rains or run the risk of having their brains beaten out in the houses by our shot, or by a fragment of the walls and timbers, and bursting of the bombs. As you

go down the river from Point au Fer to St. John's you have a distant and beautiful prospect of the mountains on either side of the lake. After passing Isle aux Noix, you have a fine view of the mountain of Chamblay, on the top of which is a lake stored with excellent trout and perch. Having dispatched a messenger to Montreal for carriages for ourselves and baggage, we crossed the river to go to a tavern on the east side of the river, about a mile from the fort. The house belongs to Colonel Hazen, and has greatly suffered by the neighborhood of the troops. There is scarcely a whole pane of glass in the house, the window shutters and doors are destroyed and the hinges stolen; in short, it appears a perfect wreck. This tavern is kept by a French woman, married to one Donaho, now a prisoner in Pennsylvania.

28th. We remained at Colonel Hazen's house. Several batteaux with troop arrived this day and yesterday evening from Ticonderoga, and most of them fell down the river this day to Chamblay. The land appears to be very fertile and well adapted to pasture; the grass began to grow fast, although the frost was not then out of the ground, the surface only being thawed.

29th. Left Colonel Hazen's house; crossed over to St. John's, where we found our caleches ready to receive us. After an hour's stay spent in getting our baggage into the carts and securing the remainder, which, for want of carts, we were obliged to leave behind us, we set off from St. John's for La Prairie, distant eighteen miles. I never travelled through worse roads, or in worse carriages. The country is one continued plain from St. John's to La Prairie, and two-thirds of the way uncultivated, though deserving the highest cultivation. About five or six miles from La Prairie, you meet with houses and ploughed lands,

interspersed with meadows, which extend as far as you can see; all this tract of land is capable of being turned into fine meadow, and when the country becomes more populous, and enjoys a good government, I doubt not it will be all drained and made into excellent meadow or pasturage. Without draining, it will be impossible to cultivate it in any way. You have no view of the St. Lawrence, or of Montreal, until you come within three or four miles of La Prairie. At La Prairie, the view of the town and the river and the island of Montreal, together with the houses on the eastern side of the St. Lawrence, form a beautiful prospect. As far as the view extends down the river, you discern houses on either side of it, which are not divided from each other by more than four acres, and commonly by not more than two. From La Prairie you go slanting down the river to Montreal; this passage is computed six miles, though the river in a direct line across from the eastern shore to the town, is not more than three miles. Ships of three hundred tons can come up to Montreal, but they cannot get up above the town, or even abreast of it. The river where we crossed is filled with rocks and shoals, which occasion a very rapid current in several places. We were received by General Arnold on our landing in the most polite and friendly manner; conducted to headquarters, where a genteel company of ladies and gentlemen had assembled to welcome our arrival. As we went from the landing place to the general's house, the cannon of the citadel fired in compliment to us as the commissioners of congress. We supped at the general's, and after supper were conducted by the general and other gentlemen to our lodgings — the house of Mr. Thomas Walker — the best built and perhaps the best furnished in this town.

May 11th. Dr. Franklin left Montreal to-day to go

to St. John's, and from thence to congress. The doctor's declining state of health, and the bad prospect of our affairs in Canada, made him take this resolution.

12th. We set off from Montreal to go to La Prairie. Mr. John Carroll went to join Dr. Franklin at St. John's, from whence they sailed the 13th.

13th. I went to St. John's to examine into the state of that garrison, and of the batteaux. There I met with General Thompson and Colonel Sinclair, with part of Thompson's brigade. That evening I went with them down the Sorel to Chamblay. Major Wood and myself remained in the boat when we got to St. Therese, where the rapids begin and continue with some interruptions to Chamblay. Flat bottomed boats may go down these rapids in the spring of the year, when the water is high; even a large gondola passed down them this spring; but it would be very difficult, if not impossible, to bring a gondola up against the stream. I much question whether the batteaux could be brought up; certain it is that the labor of towing them up or setting them up the current with setting poles would be greater, and take much more time than carting them over the carrying place from Chamblay to within three miles of St. Therese. All our batteaux which shoot the rapids and go down the Sorel to Chamblay and that are brought up again to St. John's, are carted over the carrying place on frames constructed for the purpose. It was proposed by some to bring a gondola, built at Chamblay, over land three miles into the Sorel, three miles below St. Therese; others were of opinion it could be more easily towed up over the rapids. Chamblay fort is a large square stone building, with square towers at each angle, a place intended only as a protection against the savages. I saw the holes made by a six pounder, when it was taken by Major Brown. Major Stafford might have held

out against the force which besieged him at least for some days, in which time he would probably have been relieved by Carleton. But, by Carleton's subsequent behaviour, when he made an attempt to go to the relief of St. John's, I much question whether he would have taken more effectual measures to rescue Stafford. The taking of Chamblay occasioned the taking of St. John's; against the latter we should not have succeeded without the six tons of gunpowder taken in the former.

14th. I returned to Montreal by La Prairie; the country between Chamblay and La Prairie is extremely fine and level, abounding with most excellent meadow-ground as you approach the St. Lawrence, with rich arable land round about Chamblay. The country lying between the St. Lawrence and the Sorel is the best part of Canada, and produces the most and best wheat. In the year 1771 four hundred and seventy-one thousand bushels of wheat were exported out of Canada, of which two-thirds, it is computed, were made in the Sorel district.

21st. This day Mr. Chase set off with me for the mouth of the Sorel; we embarked from Montreal in one of our batteaux, and went in it as far as the point of land on the north shore of the St. Lawrence, opposite to the northern extremity of the Island of Montreal; here the wind being against us we took post and travelled on the north side of the St. Lawrence as low down as La Nore, where we got into a canoe, and were paddled down and across the St. Lawrence to our camp at the mouth of the Sorel; it was a perfect calm, the distance is computed at nine miles. The country on each side the St. Lawrence is level, rich, and thickly seated; indeed, so thickly seated, that the houses form almost one continued row. In going from La Nore to the mouth of the Sorel, we passed by

Brown's battery, (as it is called) although it never had a cannon mounted on it. To this battery without cannon, and to a single gondola, ten or twelve vessels, under the command of Colonel Prescott surrendered. Major Brown, when the vessels came near to his battery, sent an officer on board requesting Prescott to send another on shore to view his works. It is difficult to determine which was greatest, the impudence of Brown in demanding a surrender, or the cowardice of the officer, who, going back to Prescott, represented the difficulty of passing the battery so great and hazardous, that Prescott and all his officers chose to capitulate. Brown requested the officer who went on shore to wait a little until he saw the thirty-two pounders, which were within a half a mile, coming from Chamblay; says he, "If you should chance to escape this battery, which is my small battery, I have a grand battery at the month of the Sorel, which will infallibly sink all your vessels." His grand battery was as badly provided with cannon as his little battery, for not a single gun was mounted on either. This Prescott treated our prisoners with great insolence and brutality. His behaviour justifies the old observation, that cowards are generally cruel. We found the discipline of our camp very remiss, and everything in confusion; General Thomas had but lately resigned the command to Thompson, by whose activity things were soon put on a better footing.

22nd. We left our camp and travelled by land along the eastern bank of the Sorel. At five or six miles from the mouth of the Sorel the country grows rich, and continues so all the way to Chamblay. Near the mouth of the river it is very sandy. This part of the country is very populous, the villages are large and neat, and joined together by a continued range of single houses, chiefly farmers' houses. These are the

rich men in Canadá; the seignieurs are in general poor. They were constrained by the ordinance of the King of France to lease their lands forever, reserving two dollars for every ninety acres, and some other trifling perquisites, as tools for grinding wheat; the tenants being obliged to have their wheat ground at their seignieurs' mills. It is conjectured that the farmers in Canada cannot be possessed of less than a million sterling in specie; they hoard up their money to portion their children; they neither let it out at interest, nor expend it in the purchase of lands. Before we left the camp we ordered a detachment up to Montreal, under the command of Colonel De Haas, consisting of near four hundred men, to reinforce General Arnold, and, in conjunction to drive off a party of the eighth regiment, who with three hundred and fifty savages and some Canadian, had taken our post at the Cedars, through the cowardice of Major Butterfield, and had advanced on the 25th instant within fifteen miles of Montreal.

23rd. We got early this morning to Chamblay, where we found all things in much confusion, extreme disorder and negligence, our credit sunk, and no money to retrieve it with. We were obliged to pay three silver dollars for the carriage of three barrels of gunpowder from Little Chamblay river to Longueil, the officer who commanded the guard not having a single shilling.

24th. Colonel De Haas's detachment got into Montreal this evening; the day before we also arrived there, having crossed the St. Lawrence in a canoe from Longueil.

25th. In the evening of this day Colonel De Haas's detachment marched out of Montreal to join General Arnold at La Chine; they were detained from want of many necessaries, which we were obliged to procure

for them, General Wooster being without money, or pretending to be so. The enemy, hearing from our enemies in Montreal, of this reinforcement, had retreated precipitately to Fort St. Anne's, at the southern extremity of the Island of Montreal, and from thence had crossed over to Quinze Chiens, on the north side of the St. Lawrence.

29th. We left Montreal this day at three o'clock, to go to Chamblay, to be present at a council of war of the generals and field-officers for concerting the operations of the campaign.

30th. The council of war was held this day, and determined to maintain possession of the country between the St. Lawrence and Sorel, if possible; in the meantime to dispose matters so as to make an orderly retreat out of Canada.

31st. Set off from Chamblay for St. John's; all things there in confusion; slept at Mrs. Donaho's.

June 1st. Crossed over this morning to St. John's, where General Sullivan, with fourteen hundred men had arrived in the night of the 31st past; saw them all under arms. It began to rain at nine o'clock and continued raining very hard until late in the evening; slept at Donaho's.

2nd. Crossed over again to the camp; took leave of General Sullivan, and sailed from St. John's at six this morning, with a fair wind; got to Point au Fer at one o'clock; got to Cumberland head about seven o'clock P. M.; set off from thence about nine, and rowed all night. We divided our boat's crew into two watches.

3rd. Breakfast at Willsborough; rowed on and received despatches by Major Hickes; got to Crown Point half-past six o'clock P. M. Set off at eight, rowed all night, and arrived at one o'clock in the night at Ticonderoga, where we found General Schuyler.

4th. Set off this morning at five with General

Schuyler, for Skeenesborough, and got there by two o'clock. The lake as you approach Skeenesborough, grows narrower and shallower; indeed, within five or six miles of Skeenesborough, it has all the appearance of a river. We hauled our batteau over the carrying place at Skeenesborough into Wood Creek. This carrying place not above three hundred feet across; a lock may be made for two hundred pounds at Skeenesborough, by which means a continued navigation would be effected for batteaux from one Chesshire's into Lake Champlain. Major Skeene has built a saw-mill, gristmill, and a forge at the entrance of Wood creek into Lake Champlain. Set off from Skeenesborough at four o'clock, rowed up Wood creek ten miles to one Boyle's, here we lay all night on board our boat.

5th. Set off at three in the morning and continued rowing up the creek to one Chesshire's. This man lives near Fort Ann, built by Governor Nicholson in 1709. The distance from Skeenesborough to Chesshire's is twenty-two miles,—by land, fourteen only; from this it appears that Wood creek has many windings, in fact, I never saw a more serpentine river. The navigation is somewhat obstructed by trees drifted and piled across the creek; however, we met with little difficulty but in one place, where we were obliged to quit our boat and carry it through a narrow gut, which was soon performed by our crew. Two hundred men would clear this creek and remove every obstruction in six days' time. This measure has been recommended by the commissioners to congress, and congress has complied with the recommendation, and orders will soon be given to General Schuyler, to clear it, and render the navigation easy.

I set off with General Schuyler, on foot, from Chesshire's at one o'clock; walked seven miles, and

then met horses coming from Jones' to us. Jones' house is distant nine miles from Chesshire's. We dine at Jones's, and rode, after dinner, to Fort Edward;— the distance is computed four miles;— Mr. Chase joined us this evening. He took the lower road and was obliged to walk part of the way.

6th. Parted with General Schuyler this morning; he returned to Fort George on Lake George. We rode to Saratoga, where we got by seven o'clock, but did not find the amiable family at home. We were constrained to remain here all this day, waiting the arrival of our servants and baggage.

7th. Our servants and baggage being come up, we left Saratoga this morning at nine; took boat and went down Hudson's river, through all the rapids, to Albany. The distance is computed thirty-six miles. We arrived at Albany half an hour past five. At six o'clock we set off for New York in a sloop, which we luckily found ready to sail; got that evening and night twenty-four miles from Albany.

8th. Found ourselves, this morning, twenty-four miles from Albany:— at seven in the morning wind breezed up, had a fine gale, and got below the highlands;— a very great run.

9th. Arrived at New York at one o'clock P. M.; waited on Generals Gates and Putnam, and my old acquaintance and friend, Mr. Moylan. About six o'clock in the evening got into General Washington's barge, in company with Lord Stirling, and was rowed round by Staten Island and the Kilns, within two miles of Elizabeth-town, where we got by ten at night.

10th. Set off from Elizabeth-town half-past five. Got to Bristol at eight o'clock P. M.: at nine, embarked in our boats, and were rowed down the Delaware to Philadelphia, where we arrived at two o'clock in the night.

PROPERTY OF LIBRARY
TACOMA CATHOLIC COLLEGE

922 324
C319L

Leonard.
Life of Charles Carroll
of Carrollton.

Y0-BSN-746